# Gender Studies
## *for CSS Students*

*by Syed Hammad Haider*

# CONTENTS

# Chapter **1**

# Sex and Gender

## Objectives

- Know the history of gender and the colonial perspective of gender.
- Understand the difference between sex and gender.
- Grasp the concept behind the social construction of gender.
- Understand the impact of nature on gender.
- Learn the impact of sexism on gender.
- Grasp the concept of Queer theory.

🏛 One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman.
Simone de Beauvoir

🏛 A woman is handicapped by her sex, and handicaps society, either by slavishly copying the pattern of man's advances in the professions, or by refusing to compete with man at all.
Betty Friedan

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# History of Gender

It is impossible to understand the present without reference to the past. A pioneer women['] historian Mary Ritter asserts, in the 2500 years written history, most male writers overlooked the histories of females. The whole of human experience has been dominated by the political, economic, and military exploits of an elite, powerful group of men. Women's history emerged to uncover the hidden elements of the 'other half' of humankind, which had been ignored by male historians. The first **compensatory and contribution histories** focused on exceptional women and the contributions they made. Today women's history accounts for the race, class, and gender links. Historical themes include misogyny and women and victims but also the resistance women have used against patriarchy. *head of the society-(Men)*

**GREECE:** Archaeological material from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age period immediately predating the birth of Greek civilization provides substantial information of a matrilineal system, female creator images, the powerful queens, and the sexual freedom of women. Some contend that these ancient societies show neither matriarchy nor patriarchy. They assert that it was an egalitarian society based on a 'partnership model', as was depicted by the social structure of Minoan Crete. Referred to as the Golden Age, the mythology bolsters the view of a society where there was no stratification based on gender. Over time, a matrilineal system tracing descent from the female line was replaced by a patrilineal system. Gods, instead of goddesses were added to religious imagery. Patriarchy eventually prevailed.

Greek literature is replete with references to the matriarchal society of Amazons. Though shrouded in mystery, Greek mythology saw the Amazons as female warriors, capable with a bow, who had little need of men except as sexual partners. The Amazon legends and goddess images perpetuated the belief that Greece revered women. Except for religion, however, the Greek world saw women as inferior in political, social, and legal realms,

**Plato** called for girls to be educated in the same manner as boys with equal opportunities open to them to become rulers, believing that a superior woman is better than an inferior man. Alongside his supposed enlightened image of women, however, is Plato's disdain and antipathy of women. In championing the democratic state, Plato was a pragmatist as well as a misogynist. He believed an inferior class of uneducated women might work against the principles of democracy, so he appeared to champion the emancipation of women. Women may 'naturally participate in all occupations,' Plato continues, 'but in all women are weaker that men.' Women were excluded from his academy and no woman speaks in his dialogues. Indeed, women's sexual nature could distract men from reason and pursuit of knowledge, so men and women must exist in separate worlds.

It is **Aristotle** who is more representative of the Greek view of women. In **Politics**, Aristotle explicitly stated that a husband should rule over his wife and children. If slaves are naturally meant to be ruled by free men, then women are naturally meant to be ruled by men. Otherwise, the natural order would be violated. **Illustrated by the writings of Plato and Aristotle, Greek society relegated women to inferior legal and social status.** The women of Athens can be described as chattels. At one point in Greek history, even a wife's childbearing responsibilities could be taken over by concubines, further lowering a wife's already subordinate status. Divorce was rare but possible. Husbands and male kin literally held the power of life and death over women. Athenian society did not tolerate women in public places except at funerals and all-female festivals, so for the most part they remained secluded in their homes. Mourning was ritualized, and women could not express their grief in public or at the funerals they

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were allowed to attend. The subordinate position of Athenian women extended to most of the Greek world. However, in Sparta, compared to women in Athens, young unmarried women enjoyed a higher degree of freedom, but subordination to male family members was the rule. Women in Sparta were expected to be physically fit and manage households when the men were at war.

**Male Authority:** Early Rome granted the eldest man in a family, the **pater familias**, absolute power over all family members, male and female alike, and his authority could extend to death sentences for errant family members and selling his children into slavery to recoup the economic losses of a family. Daughters remained under the authority of a pater familias throughout their lives, but sons could be emancipated after his death. Even after marriage, the father or uncle or brother still had the status of pater familias for women, which meant the husbands could exercise only a limited amount of control over wives.

**Female Power:** Roman women had more freedom. Vestiges of goddess worship remained. The comparative power women held in the religious life of the empire are reflected in goddess cults and the revered Vestal Virgins. These mortal women symbolized Rome's economic and moral wellbeing. Nonetheless, wives also carried out the business of the family while their husbands were on military duty. These roles gradually extended so that it became common for women to buy and sell property as well as inherit it and participate in the broader economic life of the society. Roman society allowed a few women of higher social standing privileges unheard of in Greek society. However, the abhorrent misogynistic texts of the poet Juvenal warn men that women are dangerous and distracting. Rome was a brutal, slave based society in which a dominator model of male control over women and the control of superior men over inferior men regulated all existence at all levels, whether personal, familial, national, or international.

**THE MIDDLE AGES:** During the Middle Ages, Christianity enveloped Europe, and misogyny of the Church carried over to the lives of women. The most notable misogyny occurred with witch burning. The Renaissance and Reformation offered some women opportunities for education and more diverse roles overall. But Luther's image of women generally coincided with earlier views, and misogyny continued to govern Europe.

**WITCH HUNTS:** Misogyny during the late Middle Ages created an outgrowth for one of the most brutal periods of history concerning women----the time of the witch hunts. The woman who deviated from gendered norms generated the greatest distrust. If she remained unmarried, was married but childless, was regarded as sexually provocative, or was too independent or too powerful, she could be denounced as a witch. Women who were not economically dependent on men---- husbands, fathers, or brothers---- may have been higher in social class, but like their sisters in classical societies, their gender class dominated all other statuses. Accused of sexual impurity and in order to appease God's anger, thousands of women were burned as witches.

**THE RENAISSANCE:** The last 300 years of medieval Europe, which included the Renaissance and Reformation, were years of ferment and change that inevitably extended into women's realms. It can be said that the Renaissance had generally positive effects on women of all social standing. Educated aristocratic women became patrons of literature and art, many of them as authors in their own right, notably the women who emerged as scientists, writers, and artists were literate women largely of noble blood. As such, they were accorded some prestige for their accomplishments. But other forces were at work that kept traditional images of women from being seriously challenged.

**MARTIN LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION:** Martin Luther advocated opening Christianity to everyone on the basis of faith alone. Critical of Aquinas's view that a woman was imperfect, in essence a botched male, Luther argued that those who accused her of this are in themselves monsters and should recognize that she, too, is a creature made by God. Many women embraced

Luther's justification by faith principle, but some paid a heavy price as a result. For example, Ann Boleyn was beheaded in England in her effort to introduce Protestantism. Jane Grey and Anne Askew, who dared to criticize the Catholic mass, were tortured and executed. The Reformation did appear to offer an opportunity to present different interpretations of Christianity highlighting men and women's spiritual equality that would elevate the position of women. Luther himself presents a paradox. Women may not be botched males, but he still believed they were inferior to men. Though woman is a 'beautiful handiwork of God,' she does 'not equal the dignity and glory of the male.'

**AMERICA:** The first American women were Native American women, often holding important leadership roles. With colonization and Christianity, women's high standing was largely lost.

Colonial white women in the Puritan era lived under Christian views imported from Europe. Some scholars argue that because women were scarce and had vital economically productive roles in the household, they enjoyed a measure of prestige and that this era was a golden age for women.

The Victorian era saw the rise of the **True Womanhood**—telling women to be pious, pure, and submissive. Despite these messages middle-class women controlled their lives to meet personal needs and engage in social activities.

Frontier women were valued for their work in and outside their homes. They lived adverse lives, but adapted and often thrived on their frontier farms.

**Industrialization** opened up employment to women from all walks of life. The appalling working conditions that killed workers, mostly women, helped trigger the union movement: The Knights of Labor was opened for women and African Americans. Women's attempts to unionize were not as successful as men's. Gains in pay and employment for the women were lost after the Depression.

**World War II** opened up employment for women. The demand for female labour led to higher paying defense jobs and acceptance of married women and women of all races and classes in the workplace. The cult of the home emerged after the war. But World War II altered gender roles, and the next half century saw increased opportunities for women.

# Colonial perspective of Gender

Life in early Colonial America was extremely hard. The early women colonists and settlers were expected to help the men in a variety of hard labour tasks in order to survive. As time passed the lives of Colonial women took on the traditional roles of women which related to running the house or farm and raising the children. The work undertaken within these roles were dependent on wealth and status. The men dominated the lives of Colonial women. Colonial women would be married by the time they were twenty and bore large numbers of children.

The men held traditional views and attitudes about the status and roles of women. The life of women was focused on the home. The homes of Colonial women were invariably drafty, badly heated, had no running water, no bathrooms or indoor toilets. Lighting was dim and provided by candles and whale-oil lamps. Travel was difficult as there initially were no roads. Towns were generally dirty without garbage collection and proper sewers. This led to various diseases with few doctors and limited medical knowledge to heal the sick. The tasks, chores and roles of Colonial women included cooking, preparing the fires, making candles, making soap, cleaning, emptying chamber pots, spinning, weaving, knitting and making clothes, washing and ironing clothes

tending the sick including collecting herbs and making remedies, childcare, caring for livestock, etc. The work and tasks undertaken would vary according to the status of the woman.

**WOMEN IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA:** In Colonial America, women did not have the same rights as they enjoy today, but they still played an essential role in founding America. The 17th century was an age of uncertainty and adventure, and the women in 17th century America who made the journey had to be resilient, hard-working, and incredibly brave in order to survive. This meant that both men and women had to work together in order to eke out a living in the colonies. As a result, gender roles were actually rather fluid early on. Some colonies, like Jamestown, were initially founded by men, which meant that Jamestown couldn't grow as a colony until women arrived. Both men and women would farm, construct buildings, tend to the house, and raise children. In addition, women would work as nurses, midwives, and even itinerant preachers. Some women even began their lives in Colonial America as **indentured servants**, meaning they were provided free passage to the colonies in exchange for several years of work in the fields or elsewhere. Indentured Servants were not paid any wages. A woman who became pregnant as an indentured servant often had years added on to the end of her service time. Colonial women who were indentured servants had few rights. They could not vote, they were not allowed to marry or even leave their houses or travel without permission. Indentured servants were not allowed to buy or sell anything. As the 17th century continued, families grew and children were born, but things were not always easy. Young women were often pregnant, partly because so many young children were lost to sickness or lack of resources and partly because of a dire need to populate the colonies. Likewise, spouses would often die, meaning that men and women would often remarry. Marriages and families were thus often formed out of necessity rather than love. Nevertheless, the family was truly the foundation to these colonies, and the family structure became a microcosm of colonial life in general.

**WOMEN IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA:** By the eighteenth century, the colonies in America became well-established and the population exploded. As the colonies became more established, so did typical gender roles. Eighteenth century America became more of a patriarchal system, where men were acknowledged as the formal heads of the household and held most social and political power. In contrast, women in 18th century America were generally relegated to the private sphere where they were expected to run the household, weave, cook and teach children morals and spirituality. In general, women were still not formally educated, and they did not enjoy the same freedoms and social power as men. They were not always looked down on, however, and in fact women were often admired and praised for being spiritually virtuous and strong caregivers.

Some women did, in fact, own businesses or work alongside their husbands as blacksmiths or tanners. The slave population also exploded in the 18th century, and Southern wives of plantation owners had the added task of managing plantation affairs. In addition, as the American Revolutionary War drew near, many women helped to propagate the patriotic spirit by managing boycotts of British goods and encouraging fellow women to create homemade American goods to replace British goods.

**WEALTHY EUROPEAN COLONIAL WOMEN:** The wealthy Colonial Women from Europe of the later colonial years enjoyed a life that was similar to that they would have experienced in Europe. Wealth enabled them to live in great town houses and colonial mansions. Their clothes were highly elaborate and made of velvets, satins and silks. Their lifestyle was centered around the house, ensuring the servants and slaves performed the tasks necessary to run such a stylish home. The social life of Colonial women who lived in towns was focused on visiting other women and arranging special social events where their husbands could meet with their contemporaries.

**NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN IN COLONIAL TIMES:** During the Colonial period, the British colonists often interacted with and learned from Native Americans. In some of these Native American tribes, women made some of the most important decisions in the community. In fact,

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many Native American women enjoyed a more powerful and more public social role than did their counterparts in colonial British America. Future women's rights leaders would even look back to some of these Native American women as inspiration for their own fight for equal rights! Though women in both the British settlements and Native American communities would trade and teach one another, there were tensions between the two groups as well. As more American colonies were established, the Native Americans were pushed off their lands, which meant that Native American women had to transplant their families to a new area and start over.

**THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF COLONIAL WOMEN:** The legal rights of Colonial women were few. Men dominated society and women were subservient to the men in her family such as her father and brothers. Divorce was practically unknown as Colonial America was essentially a divorce-free society:

- Colonial Women did not have the right to vote
- Colonial Women did not have the right to hold a public office
- Colonial Women did not have the right to serve on juries
- Widows and unmarried women could:
- Make a will
- Buy or sell property
- Act as a guardian
- Had the right to sue or be sued
- A widow received a one-third interest in the personal property of her deceased husband (one-half if there were no children)

**The rights of married women.** When a Colonial woman married her legal identity virtually disappeared. The legal existence of the woman was suspended during the marriage. Any property or goods including livestock and money left to a married woman in a will also was owned by the husband. A husband owned whatever belonged to his wife, except for personal items such as clothes and jewelry. Children legally belonged to their fathers. Married women had fewer rights than unmarried women or widows. Married women:

- Could not make a will without the explicit consent of her husband.
- Could not buy property
- Could not make a contract
- Could not sue or be sued in court

**AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN COLONIAL AMERICA:** African American women in Colonial America were slaves brought from Africa. Slave women experienced immense hardship. The slave population increased during this period, and slave women were expected to have babies to replenish the slave population. Slave women had multiple responsibilities and zero freedom. They were expected to work long hours, often right alongside their husbands in cotton or tobacco fields. Some slave women would take care of the plantation owner's children or work in the plantation house. After their long, grueling hours of toil were over, they would then have to return to their tiny dwellings and care for their own families, trying to feed their children and keep their own traditions alive.

**WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA:** Europeans began arriving in Africa in the 15th century, most frequently settling in coastal enclaves while they pursued trade in goods such as ivory and gold, as well as in slaves. Although some areas came under European sway from those early years, it was not until the late 19th century that the European nations of England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal met in a famous conference in Berlin in 1884–1885 and divided areas of influence

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among themselves. The years of most intense colonialism then followed, with increased warfare when the Europeans attempted, and in most areas succeeded, in enforcing their own political control over African communities. Africans resisted these incursions from the beginning, and the first nationalist movements arose in the early 20th century, culminating in successful transfers to independent status for most African nations in the 1950s and early 1960s. Women were involved in these activities in a variety of ways. Studies of women's work during the colonial period often show that they lost power and economic autonomy with the arrival of cash crops and women's exclusion from the global marketplace. Even further, men and international commerce benefited because they were able to rely to some extent on women's unremunerated labor. The dynamic varied from place to place. In some areas, the introduction of cash crops led to changes in women's agricultural work and in men's and women's control over land. In other areas, women typically continued their work growing food for their family's consumption while men earned wages by working on tea and cotton plantations or, in central and southern Africa, by going to work at gold, diamond, and copper mines. Some women moved to the newly developing urban communities in search of new opportunities, though the majority remained in the rural areas. Analysis of the development of legal systems under colonialism suggests that women were at a disadvantage, as "customary" laws were established based on male testimony that gave men, especially elite men, advantages over women in issues of marriage and divorce. Women's pre-colonial political activity was generally disregarded by the colonial authorities, who turned exclusively to men when they established local political offices. In many parts of West Africa, women were members of associations run by and for women, and which gave women the final say in disputes over markets or agriculture. The colonial agents, nearly always men, ignored that reality.

**ASIA:** In Malaysia, for example, women played an important role in freedom movement from British colonialists where the focus was national sovereignty rather than personal autonomy from patriarchal shackles. After gaining Independence in 1957, basic rights such as voting and equality before the law were easily gained by women as the Malaysian Constitution came into place.

**MODERNIZATION THEORY:** The capitalist version of modernization theorized that as nations developed, economic development and social change would lead to democracy. Many modernization theorists of the time, such as **W. W. Rostow**, argued that when societies transitioned from traditional societies to modern societies they would follow a similar path. They further theorized that each developing country could be placed into a category or stage of development. Rostow's stages of development are:

- **Traditional** - an agricultural based society
- **Pre-conditions for Take-off** - characterized by an abundance of entrepreneurial activity
- **Take-off** - a period of rapid economic growth
- **Maturation** - economic development slows to a more consistent rate
- **Mass production or mass consumption** - a period in which real income increases

Other modernization theorists, such as Samuel Huntington, argued that social mobilization and economic development were driving forces behind modernization. Increased social mobilization meant that individuals and societal groups changed their aspirations. Increased economic development meant the capabilities of the newly modern society would change. Huntington argued that these societal changes would inevitably lead to democratization.

Another popular version of modernization formed during the height of the Cold War. It theorized that underdeveloped nations were underdeveloped because they were a product of unsound traditionalist, religious, and communal values that hindered progress. This version of

*equal opportunities* (handwritten at top)

modernization further theorized that Western democracies, such as the United States, dispelled underdeveloped nations' backward notions by instilling modern values. This version of modernization was discredited in the 1970s and denounced as being ethnocentric and pretentious.

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# Sex and Gender

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We are born male or female [sex], but we learn to act in masculine or/and feminine ways [gender]. To be masculine is to be strong, ambitious, successful, rational, and emotionally controlled. To be feminine is to be physically attractive, emotionally expressive, nurturing, and concerned with relationships. A person's sex, as determined by their biology, does not always correspond with their gender. Most men are primarily masculine, and most women are primarily feminine. In some cases, however, a male expresses himself more femininely than most men, or a woman expresses herself in more masculine ways than most women. Therefore, the terms "sex" and "gender" are not interchangeable. Gender varies from culture to culture. Gender, which is sometimes called gender role, is demonstrated how we speak, dress, style our hair, and so forth. While sex is genetic and biological, gender is neither innate nor necessarily stable. Gender is learned.

*(1) Anatomy* (handwritten)
*(2) Internal genitals* (handwritten)
*(3) Hormones* (handwritten)
*(4) Gonads* (handwritten)
*(5) Sperms* (handwritten)

**"SEX":** Sex refers to physical or physiological differences between male, female, and intersex bodies, including both primary sex characteristics (the reproductive system) and secondary sex characteristics (such as breasts and facial hair). In humans, the biological sex of a child is determined at birth based on several factors, including chromosomes, gonads, hormones, internal reproductive anatomy, and genitalia. Males are defined as having an XY 23rd chromosome, while females are defined as having an XX 23rd chromosome (though tests have revealed variations in chromosomes, including **XXY, XYY, and XXX**). Scientists have linked a person's 23rd chromosome to the development of a sexed phenotype. Anatomically, males and females have different reproductive organs: a penis, testicles, and scrotum for males, and a vagina, uterus, and ovaries for females. Other anatomical differences include the development of breasts among females, and the presence of a menstrual cycle.

Biological sex has traditionally been conceptualized as a binary, typically divided into male and female. However, anywhere from 1.0 to 1.7% of children are born intersex, having a variation in sex characteristics (including chromosomes, gonads, or genitals) that do not allow them to be distinctly identified as male or female. Due to the existence of multiple forms of intersex condition, many view sex as existing along a spectrum, rather than simply two mutually exclusive categories. Symbols for *male and female* are ♂ [male] and ♀ [female]

**GENDER:** "Gender" is a term that refers to social or cultural distinctions associated with being male, female, or intersex. Typically, babies born with male sex characteristics (sex) are assigned as boys (gender); babies born with female sex characteristics (sex) are assigned as girls (gender). Because our society operates in a binary system when it comes to gender (in other words, seeing gender as only having two options), many children who are born intersex are assigned as either a boy or a girl and even surgically "corrected" to fit a particular gender. Scholars generally regard gender as a social construct—meaning that it does not exist naturally, but is instead a concept that is created by cultural and societal norms.

**Gender identity** is a person's sense of self as a member of a particular gender. Individuals who identify with a role that corresponds to the sex assigned to them at birth (for example, they were born with male sex characteristics, were assigned as a boy, and identify today as a boy or man) are **cisgender.** Those who identify with a role that is different from their biological sex (for

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example, they were born with male sex characteristics, were assigned as a boy, but identify today as a girl, woman, or some other gender altogether) are often referred to as **transgender.**

## Navajo culture has four genders:

- Given that Navajo culture is matrilineal, the first gender is feminine woman (**asdzaan**). They are born biologically female and function socially as women;
- Masculine man (**hastiin**), are born biologically male and adopt the role of men;
- Feminine man (**nádleehí**) are born biologically male and function socially as women; and
- Masculine woman (**dilbaa**) are born biologically female but function as men.

The term "**sexual orientation**" refers to the classification of individuals as heterosexual, bisexual, or homosexual, based on their emotional and sexual attractions, relationships, self-identity, and lifestyle. **Heterosexuality** refers to the predominance of emotional and sexual attraction to persons of the other sex. **Homosexuality** refers to the predominance of emotional and sexual attraction to persons of the same sex, and **bisexuality** is emotional and sexual attraction to members of both sexes. **Lesbians, gays, and bisexuals are part of the "transgendered community".** Transgendered individuals include those whose gender identities do not conform to traditional notions of masculinity and femininity. **Transgendered individuals include** homosexuals, bisexuals, **cross-dressers** [who dress in clothing of the other sex], **transvestites** [homosexuals who occasionally dress as women], and **transsexuals** [whose gender identity has changed by sex reassignment surgery or hormone treatment]. The term **LGBTQ** refers collectively to lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgendered individuals, and queers. — questioning their gender

# Sexism and Gender inequality
In between. 13% are not sure

**THE STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE:** According to it, pre-industrial society required a division of labour based on gender. Women, out of biological necessity [feeding infants], remained in the home performing such functions as bearing, nursing, and caring for children. Men, who were physically stronger and could be away from home for long periods of time, were responsible for providing food, clothing, and shelter for their families. This division of labour was functional for society, and, over time, became defined as both normal and natural.

**THE CONFLICT PERSPECTIVE/ A MARXIST PERSPECTIVE:** According to it, male dominance and female subordination are shaped by the relationship men and women have to the production process. During the hunting and gathering societies, males and females were economic equals, each controlling their own labour and producing needed subsistence. As society evolved to agricultural and industrial modes of production, *private property* developed and men gained control of the modes of production, while women remained in the home to bear and care for children. Male domination was furthered by inheritance laws that ensured that ownership would remain in their hands. Laws that regarded women as property ensured that women would remain confined to the home. As industrialization continued and the production of goods and services moved away from the home, the male-female gaps continued to grow----women had less education, lower incomes, and fewer occupational skills and were rarely owners. Thus, unlike functionalists, conflict theorists hold that the subordinate position of women in society is a consequence of social inducement rather than biological differences that led to the traditional division of labour.

**Feminists** argue that gender is socially constructed. Thus, for example, women are generally socialized into expressive or nurturing and emotionally supportive roles, and males are socialized

In Nigeria → Uva no difference b/w men and women.

into instrumental or task-oriented roles. These roles are then acted out in countless daily interactions as boss and secretary, doctor and nurse.

# Gender stratification: structural sexism

Structural sexism, also called institutional sexism, refers to the ways the social structure and social institutions subordinate individuals and groups [mainly women] based on their sex classification.

(1) **EDUCATION AND STRUCTURAL SEXISM:** Literacy rates worldwide indicate that women are less likely to be able to read and write than men, with millions of women being denied access to even the most basic education. For example, on the average, women in South Asia have only half as many years of education as their male counterparts. One reason for this is that women are socialized to choose marriage and motherhood over career preparation. From an early age, women are exposed to images and models of femininity that stress the importance of domestic family life.

(2) **INCOME AND STRUCTURAL SEXISM:** In general, the higher one's education, the higher one's income. Yet even when men and women have identical levels of educational achievement and both work fulltime, women, on the average, earn significantly less than men. Thus, occupational pay is gendered. This is despite the fact that in America, for example, the 1963 Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act made it illegal for employers to discriminate in wages or employment on the basis of sex, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established to rectify the grievances. According to the *devaluation hypothesis,* women are paid less because the work they perform is socially defined as less valuable than the work performed by men. According to the *human capital hypothesis,* the pay difference is due to the differences in women's and men's levels of education, skills, training, and work experience. Tam [1997], in testing these hypotheses, concludes that human capital differences are more important in explaining the income gender gap. Moreover, women and men upon career entry are channeled by employers into gender-specific jobs that carry different wage rates.

(3) **WORK AND STRUCTURAL SEXISM:** Women make up one-third of the world's labour force. Worldwide, women tend to work in jobs that have little prestige and low pay. Women are also more likely to hold positions of little or no authority within the work environment and to have more frequent and linger periods of unemployment. The concentration of women in certain occupations and men in other occupations is referred to as **occupational sex segregation.** Female-dominated occupations include receptionists, secretaries, kindergarten teachers, nurses, and dietitians. Male-dominated occupations include pilots, dentists, engineers, lawyers, doctors, and police officers. Thus, women are overrepresented in semiskilled and unskilled occupations and men concentrate in professional, administrative, and managerial positions. Women are still heavily represented in low-prestige, low-wage **"pink-collar" jobs** that offer few benefits. Even those women in higher-paying jobs are often victimized by a glass ceiling: an invisible barrier that prevents women from moving to senior positions in corporate jobs. Such sex-segregation in occupations is due to cultural beliefs about what is an 'appropriate' job for a man or a woman. Male employers believe that the prestige of their business will be lessened with the entrance of a woman. Moreover, women select those jobs where they have enough spare time to fulfill their family obligations.

(4) **POLITICS AND STRUCTURAL SEXISM:** Women play a rather minor role in the political arena, even in America where women received the right to vote in 1920 with the passage of the 19th Amendment. In general, the more important the political office, the lower is the possibility that a woman will hold it. Although America champions democracy, the United States has never had a woman president or vice president and, until 1993 when a second woman was appointed, had only

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one female Supreme Court justice. Hillary Clinton was defeated by Trump in the American Presidential elections of 2016. The highest-ranking woman ever to serve in American government was Madeleine Albright, who became the American Secretary of State in 1997. According to the World Bank, worldwide, the percentage of national and local legislative seats held by women is less than 10 percent. In response to the underrepresentation of women in the political arena, some countries, including Pakistan, have initiated quotas. A 1996 law in Brazil requires that a minimum of 20 percent of each party's candidates be women. The relative absence of women in politics, as in higher education and in high-paying, high-prestige jobs in general, is a consequence of structural limitations. Running for office requires large sums of money, the political backing of powerful individuals and interest groups, and a willingness of the voting public to elect women. Thus, minority women have even greater structural barriers to election.

# I. Does nature control Gender?

## BIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF GENDER

Biological theory maintains that biological characteristics are the basis of gender differences. Biologically based theories focus on how X and Y chromosomes, hormonal activities, and brain specialization influence a range of individual qualities from body features to thinking and motor skills.①

SEX CHROMOSOMES: One focus of biological theories is the influence of sex chromosomes. Most males have an XY chromosomes structure. Most females have an XX chromosomes structure, because they inherit an X chromosome from each parent. Genetic evidence shows that several genes that control intelligence are located only on X chromosomes. This implies that some aspects of males' intelligence are inherited only from their mothers, whereas females, who usually inherit an X chromosome from each parent, may inherit their intelligence from both parents. Genetic researchers have also reported that the primary gene responsible for social skills is active only on the X chromosome. This may explain why women, who have two X chromosomes, are generally more adept and comfortable than men in many social situations.

X and Y chromosomes are distinct. The X is larger than the Y, and the X holds 1100 genes whereas the Y holds only about 50 genes. In part because of the larger number of genes carried on the X chromosome, it is more of a multi-tasker than the Y. The Y chromosome's primary function is determining that a fertilized egg will evolve into a male. The X chromosomes, however, controls a lot more than sex determination. In addition, the X carries genes that influence intelligence and susceptibility to a range of hereditary conditions. ②

HORMONES: A second focus of biological theories is the role of hormonal activity in shaping sex-related behaviours. Sex hormones affect development of the brain as well as the body. For instance, estrogen, the primary female hormone, causes women's bodies to produce "good" cholesterol and to make their blood vessels more flexible than those of men. Estrogen strengthens the immune system, making women generally less susceptible to immune disorders and more resistant to infections and viruses. Estrogen causes fat tissue to form around women's hips, which provides cushioning for a fetus during pregnancy. And estrogen seems to impede liver functioning such that women eliminate alcohol more slowly than men and thus may react more quickly to alcohol consumption. Male who use drugs and/or engage in violent abusive behaviour tend to be at their cycle's peak level of testosterone, the primary male hormone. Higher levels of testosterone are also linked to jockeying for power, attempts to influence or dominate others, and physical expressions of anger. Additional research indicates that hormones influence cognitive abilities

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including decoding nonverbal communication and judging moving objects. Hormones influence skills and tendencies we associate with gender. Research shows that girls favour trucks over dolls their mothers had atypically high levels of **testosterone** during pregnancy, and that males who are given estrogen experience declines in spatial skills, which tend to be greater in males, and increases in verbal skills, which tend to be greater in females.

(3) **BRAIN STRUCTURE:** A third focus of biological theories of difference is **brain structure** and development, which appear to be linked to sex. Research indicates that, although both women and men use both lobes of the brain, each sex tends to specialize in one. Men tend to have better development in the lobe that controls linear thinking, sequential information, spatial skills, and abstract, analytic reasoning. Women tend to have greater development of the lobe that controls imaginative and artistic activity, for holistic, intuitive thinking, and for some visual and spatial tasks. Research indicates that women tend to use both sides of their brains to perform language tasks, whereas men are more likely to use only or primarily the left sides of their brains. In women, the **prefrontal cortex**, which restrains aggression, is larger and develops earlier than in men and the **insula**, which affects intuition and empathy, is larger. In men, the **amygdala**, which is the center of emotions such as anger and fear, is larger which may explain why men are more likely than women to engage in more risky and aggressive behavior.

(4) **NERVES:** A bundle of nerves and connecting tissues called the **corpus callosum** links the two lobes of the brain. Women generally have greater ability to use this structure and to access the distinct capacities of both lobes. For instance, a report ("Men Use Half a Brain to Listen," 2000) involving brain scans showed that men use mostly the left lobes of their brains when they listen, whereas women use both lobes of the brains to listen. This finding does not mean that men listen less fully or less well than women. It means only that women and men, in general, use different parts of their brains when they listen. Another study offered an explanation for the often-joked about idea that women have more trouble reading maps than men do ("why Women," 2005). This study found that men rely on the brain lobes to think more than women do, and women rely on the connecting tissue nine times more than men do. But the left lobe, which men use more than women, is required for spatial processing such as map reading.

Are differences in how we use our brains indisputable evidence of the force of biology? Not necessarily. The **splenium**, a thick, rounded fold of connecting tissues in the corpus collosum, is larger in most women, which may account for their greater verbal abilities. However, the splenium changes as a result of experience, which implies that we can develop it by using it, just as we use exercise to develop other muscles in our bodies.

# Essentialism

## SIGMUND FREUD: ANATOMY IS DESTINY

Sigmund Freud offered an early and influential essentialist explanation of male-female differences. He believed that differences in male and female anatomy account for the development of distinct masculine and feminine gender roles. According to Freud, personality develops during childhood in a series of psychosexual stages. **Sigmund Freud [1856-1939] was the founder of psychoanalysis.** Freud claimed that **"anatomy is destiny,"** by which he meant that biology, particularly the genitals, determines with which partner a child will identify and, thus, how the child's psyche will develop. Psychoanalysis is the theory of personality that stresses the influence of unconscious mental processes, the importance of sexual and aggressive instincts, and the enduring effects of early childhood experiences on personality. Freud believed that conscious experience is just the tip of our psychological makeup and experience. In fact, he thought much of our behaviour is motivated by the unconscious, a part of the personality of which a person is not aware. Like the unseen mass of a floating iceberg, the memories, knowledge, beliefs, and feelings in the

unconscious tremendously surpass in quantity the information about which we are aware. Thus, to understand personality, it is necessary to expose what is in the unconscious. According to Freud, "Phallic stage" of the personality of a child begins around age 3. In this stage, a child's pleasure focuses on the genitals. This is also the stage of the "Oedipal conflict", according to Freud. The male unconsciously begins to develop a sexual interest in his mother, starts to see his father as a rival, and harbours a wish to kill his father, as Oedipus did in the ancient Greek myth. [Abandoned at birth, Oedipus does not know the identity of his parents. As an adult, Oedipus unknowingly kills his father and marries his mother.] But because the boy child views his father as more physically powerful, he develops a fear that his father may retaliate drastically by castrating him. The fear of losing one's penis leads to "castration anxiety". To resolve the "Oedipus complex" and these anxieties, the little boy ultimately joins forces with his former enemy, the father, by resorting to the defense mechanism of "Identification" : the process of wanting to be like another person as much as possible, imitating that person's behaviour and adopting similar beliefs and values. By identifying with his father, a son seeks to obtain a woman like his unattainable mother. That is, he imitates and *internalizes* his father's values, attitudes, and norms.

Girls also ultimately resolve the "Electra complex" by identifying with the *same-sex parent*. For girls, the process is different. Freud reasoned that girls begin to experience sexual arousal toward their fathers and begin to experience **"penis envy"**. They wish they had a penis like other little boys. Blaming their mothers for their lack of a penis, girls come to believe that their mothers are responsible for their "castration". However, in an attempt to take her mother's place with her father, she also "identifies" with her mother. Like the little boy, the little girl internalizes the attributes of the same-sex parent. At this point, the Oedipal conflict is resolved.

**CRITICISM:** Gender differences are declining rapidly. Literally hundreds of studies, conducted mainly in the United States, show that women are developing traits that were traditionally considered masculine. Women have become more assertive, competitive, independent and analytical in the last three decades. They play more aggressive sports, choose more maths and science courses, do better in standardized tests, take more nontraditional jobs and earn more money than they used to. Thus, gender differences are not inherent in men and women. They vary with social conditions. The second problem with essentialism is that it tends to generalize from the average, ignoring variations within gender group. On average, women and men do differ in some respects. For example, one of the best documented gender differences is that men are on average more verbally and physically aggressive than women. However, when sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists say that men are inherently more aggressive than women, they make it seem as if this is true of all men and all women. However, many women are more aggressive than the average man and many men are less aggressive than the average women. Further, no evidence directly supports the essentialists' major claims. Sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists have not identified any of the genes that, they claim, cause male jealousy, female nurturance, the unequal division of labor between men and women and so forth. Freudians have not collected any experimental or survey data that shows boys are more independent than girls because of their emotional reactions to the discovery of their sex organs. Finally, essentialists' explanations for gender differences ignore the role of power. Sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists assume that existing behavior patterns help ensure the survival of the species. However, their assumption overlooks the fact that men are usually in a position of greater power and authority than women. Behavioral differences between women and men may therefore result not from any biological imperative but from men being in a position to establish their preferences over the interests of women. Indeed, from this point of view, sociobiology and evolutionary psychology may be seen as examples of the exercise of male power; that is, as a rationalization for male domination and sexual aggression. Much the same may be said of Freud's interpretation. Must young girls define themselves in relation to young boys by focusing on their lack of a penis? There is no reason why young girls' sexual self-definitions cannot focus positively on their own reproductive organs, including their unique ability to bear children.

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**BIOLOGY AND GENDER: THE BRUCE CASE:** The force of biology is evident in cases where doctors try to change a child's biological sex. Consider the case of 'sex reassignment surgery' [SRS] performed in 1968 in Canada to one of a pair of identical male twins, Bruce and Brian. During a circumcision at eight months Baby Bruce's penis was burned off. Physicians concluded that constructing an artificial penis was possible but not promising. Dr. John Money, an expert on sex reassignment surgery for hermaphrodites, was of the view that gender identity was solely shaped by parents and environment. Although Bruce was not a hermaphrodite [intersexed] and was born with normal genitals, Dr. Money agreed to take on Bruce's case and work with the family so he could be 'taught to want to be a girl.' At 22 months, Bruce underwent surgery to remove the remaining penile tissue. Bruce was transformed to Brenda. Given girls' toys and highly feminine clothing, Brenda was being prepared for a domestic life. Brother Brian was introduced to the world outside the home, with preferences for masculine toys [soldiers and trucks] and occupations [firefighter and police officer]. Brenda rebelled almost from the start, tearing off dresses, preferring boy toys, fighting with her brother and peers, and, despite not having penis, Brenda preferred to stand to urinate. Even hormonal treatments and therapists could not convince Brenda to accept being a girl. There was nothing feminine about Brenda. Her gait was a masculine gait; she believed that boys have a better life, and that it is easier to be a boy than a girl. In therapy sessions she was sullen, angry, and unresponsive. The mere suggestion of vaginal surgery for the next step in her transformation induced explosive panic. At age 14, her father told the truth that she was in fact a boy. Expressing immense relief, she vowed to change back to boy and took the name David. At age 18, at a relative's wedding, he made his public debut as a boy and married in 1990. David had a penis and testicles constructed. This case showed that gender identity is a natural, inborn process. Nurture's role is given little credit in the process, even though Dr. John Money favoured the social constructionist argument for gender.

**CRITIQUE:** Although this case may support the nature side (gender identity is inborn), there are numerous reasonable counterarguments for the nurture side (gender identity is learned). Certainly this case does not support John Money's assertion that newborns are a blank slate on which gender identity will be written. According to Money, nurture could alter gender. John Money's rigid interpretation of David's case can be described as cultural essentialism. Just as biological essentialists claim sex differences due to nature, cultural essentialists claim gender differences due to nurture.

In summary, **biological theories of gender attribute masculine and feminine qualities and abilities to genetics and biology.** Specifically, it appears that chromosomes, hormones, and brain structure may affect physiology, thinking, and behaviour. Yet, biological theories tell us only about physiology and genetic qualities of men and women *in general*. They don't necessarily describe individual men and women. Although virtually no researchers dispute the influence of biology, there is substantial controversy about the strength and immutability of biological forces. Those who hold an extreme version of biological theory maintain that our chromosomes and other biological factors determine our abilities and behaviour. A greater number of researchers argue that biology is substantially edited by environmental factors. To consider how environmental forces may mitigate biological endowments, we turn to theories of interpersonal and cultural influences on gender.

# II. The Social Construction of Gender: Cultural Sexism

**Symbolic interactionists** emphasize that through the socialization process both females and males are taught the gender roles. **Cultural sexism** refers to the ways the culture of society----its norms, values, beliefs, and symbols----perpetuates the subordination of an individual/group based

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on sex classification of that individual/group. In Pakistan, women, in general, are considered subordinate to men due to their being female. Cultural sexism is thus another name for male domination in Pakistan. Cultural sexism takes place in the family, the school, media, and in everyday interactions. Socialization is the lifelong process of interaction by which we learn culture, develop our sense of self, and become functioning members of society. Gender socialization is the process by which individuals learn the cultural behaviour of femininity or masculinity that is associated with the biological sex of female or male.

**SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY:** From birth, males and females are treated differently. The toys male and female children receive convey different messages about appropriate gender behaviour. Girls are supposed to play with dolls while boys are not. Social learning theory asserts that children learn gender from other people, mostly **parents**. Socialization is based on rewards [reinforcing appropriate behaviour] and punishments [extinguishing inappropriate behaviour]. These theorists are concerned with the ways children model the behaviours they view in others such as cooperation or aggression. Gender roles are learned directly, through reprimand and rewards, and indirectly, through observation and imitation of the gendered behaviour of same-sex playmates and adults especially their mothers and fathers. Through reinforcement, patterns of behaviour develop that eventually become habitual. Boys may be praised by parents, peers or teachers for doing "boy" things like excelling in male sports such as football, but derided for excelling in female games such as jump rope. Boys are often told what not to do. "Don't be a sissy" and the classic "big boys don't cry" are examples. Similarly, girls may be praised by peers for embroidering linen but derided for playing with toy soldiers or guns rather than baby dolls. Gender identity is developed when children associate the label of boy or girl with the rewards that come with the appropriate behaviour and then act out gender roles according to that perception. This theory is based on a school of psychology called **behaviorism,** which emphasized the importance of rewards and punishment in learning.

The traditional division of labour----women remain at home performing such functions as bearing, nursing, and caring for children, while men are the breadwinners----is a consequence of traditional socialization. Females and males have been socialized to perform various roles and to expect their partners to perform other complementary roles.

**THE SCHOOL EXPERIENCE AND CULTURAL SEXISM:** Sexism is also evident in the schools. It can be found in the books students read, and the different ways teachers interact with students. According to the research of Purcell, storybooks used in schools depict males as clever, brave, adventurous, and income-producing and females as passive and as victims. Females are more likely to be in need of rescue and with fewer occupational roles than males. Despite the American Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendment Act that prohibits discrimination in school sports, academic programmes and extracurricular activities, encouragement to participate in these activities is gender-biased. Males are encouraged to participate in competitive sports that emphasize traditional male characteristics such as aggression, physical strength, and dominance. Women are more likely to participate in sports that emphasize individual achievement like figure skating. Sexism is also reflected in the way teachers treat their students. Millions of young girls are subjected to sexual harassment by male teachers who then fail them when they refuse the teachers' sexual advance.

**MEDIA, LANGUAGE, AND CULTURAL SEXISM:** Media portray females and males in a stereotypical fashion. Also, the words we use and the way we use them can reflect gender inequality. The term "nurse" is normally considered to be a female, while the term "engineer" is normally considered to be a male. Language is so gender-stereotyped that the placement of male or female before titles is sometimes necessary as in the case of "female police officer."

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Following are the other theories of gender socialization that explain how children learn **gender identity**, when they become aware that the two sexes [male or female] behave differently and that different gender roles [masculine and feminine] are proper.

(B) **COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT THEORY: (i) GENDER SCHEMA THEORY**: Gender schema theory was first developed by **Sandra Bem** in 1981 and later expanded by Martin and Halverson in 1983. According to gender schema theory, once children as young as 2 or 3 years have formed a basic gender identity [boys know they are boys, and girls know they are girls] they start to develop gender schemas: **organized sets of beliefs about the sexes** that influence behaviour. Sandra Bem argued that children learn their society's gender schema [a mental view of gender considered appropriate in society] through interaction with parents and others, and then they restrict their behaviours according to what they see as appropriate to their own gender. Thus, the society's schema or we can say the parents' schema affect the behaviour of the children. A girl learns that politeness is a part of femininity. Such a behaviour is incorporated into her developing gender schema, and she adjusts her behaviour accordingly. The first schema that is formed is an ingroup/outgroup schema, consisting of organized information about which toys and activities are suitable for boys and which are suitable for girls. Boys and girls then behave in a manner that others consider masculine and feminine. They look for cues about what girls do, wear, and say and what boys do, wear, and say. Same-sex models become extremely important as gauges by which young children figure out what behaviours, attitudes, and feelings go with their gender. For young girls, mothers may be the primary source of information about femininity. Likewise, little boys study their fathers and other important males around them to learn what counts as masculine. Boys learn that aggressiveness is masculine and leads to popularity. Girls learn that it is feminine to dress up, put on makeup, and do other things to be physically attractive. It is feminine to scream at the sight of bugs, but boys who do so are called sissies. Although children base much of their behaviour on reinforcement, cognitive theorists see a different sequence in gender socialization than social learning theorists. This sequence is: "I am a boy, therefore I want to do boy things, therefore the opportunity to do boy things [and to gain approval for doing them] is rewarding." Reinforcements are important but a child chooses behaviour according to the sense of self, the unique sense of identity that distinguishes each individual from all other individuals and it develops.

As soon as the child figures out what it means to be a male or a female, he or she actively seeks information concerning the appropriate gender roles and traits. Then, the child tries to display gender-appropriate behavior. Children take everything they observe of males and females and organize them around their gender schema. For example, a child observes that his mother is always the one who cleans the house and gets the kids ready for school, while his father is always working and giving out punishments and does little at home. The child might develop a schema that females are meant to do all the household tasks, while fathers are meant to punish and provide for the family. This can lead to the assimilation of other, similar ideas, such as the belief that women are weak and emotional, while men are strong and mean. Information that does not fit the gender schemas tends to be either forgotten or distorted to fit the schema. For example, say that the child came home one day and saw that his father was cleaning instead of his mother. The child would note that this behavior does not fit his schema and would probably be confused. If asked about it later, the child would probably forget that his father cooked, or he would remember that his mother cooked instead of his father. It is evident that gender schemas promote gender stereotypes.

This theory is grounded in the work of Jean Piaget, who argued that children go through predictable developmental stages in their ability to think and reason. By age 2, children begin to self-identify by gender. Gender constancy, that develops by age 3 or earlier, is a person's understanding that he or she is a male or female and this will not change. By age 6, gender is permanent: a girl knows she is a girl and she will remain one. Only then, Kohlberg asserts, gender

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identity is said to be developed. Gender identity becomes a central part of self. Thus, children are gender detectives. Children's choices, interests, and activities----such as toys, play and friendship-- - are based on their beliefs about gender compatibility. Children value their own gender more and believe theirs is superior to the other. While social learning theory portrayed children as *passive* recipients of gender messages, this theory portrays children as *actively* seeking to comprehend the world.

**PSYCHODYNAMIC THEORY** posits that relationships, especially the earliest ones, are central to human development. For most children, the first important relationship is with the mother, and this first relationship fundamentally influences how an infant comes to define her or his gender identity of being masculine or feminine.. Infants develop a gender identity as they internalize the views of those around them during the early years. According to **Nancy Chodorow, a** psychodynamic theorist, argued that the fact that children spend most of their time with their mothers creates different developmental paths for girls and boys. Mothers generally interact more with daughters, keeping them physically and psychologically closer than sons. This intense closeness allows an infant girl to develop a feminine gendered identity by modeling themselves on their mothers. Infant boys recognize they are different from their mothers. Mothers also encourage more and earlier independence in sons, and talk less with sons about emotional and relationship matters. How do then young boys formulate a masculine gender identity? To establish his independent identity, a boy must differentiate himself from his mother. Male psychological development thus tends to internalize both an intense fear of and an intense desire for women, and this combination of feelings makes men inclined to see women as objects rather than human beings. They therefore participate in gender discrimination and violence.

# III. Cultural construction of gender

A third group of theories focuses on understanding gender from a cultural or cross-cultural perspective. Cultural scholars do not necessarily dispute biological and interpersonal factors, but they do assume that these are qualified by the influence of culture.

**ANTHROPOLOGY:** Tahitian men tend to be gentle, mild-tempered, and nonaggressive, and it is entirely acceptable for them to cry, show fear, and express pain. Australian Aboriginal fathers have no say in their daughters' marriages; that is up to the mothers. Samoan males continue the traditional practice of tattooing their bodies from waist to below the knees as a means of marketing the transition from childhood to manhood. A male is not considered a man until he has undergone the painful process of extensive tattooing. The Mbuti, a tribe of pygmies in central Africa, don't discriminate strongly between the sexes. Both women and men gather roots, berries, and nuts, and both hunt. The Mukogodo people in Kenya place a higher value on females than on males; as a result, daughters are given greater attention and medical care than sons. And on Orango Island on the western shore of Africa women choose mates and, once chosen, a man cannot refuse without tarnishing the honour of his family.

Native American tribes offer yet another cultural construction of gender. According to Angela Gonzales (2001), prior to contact with Western Europeans, many Native Americans groups had long-established matrilineal systems of inheritance, property ownership, and social status. These tribes were not necessarily matriarchal (in which females have greater power than males), but they were matrilineal because lines of kinship were traced through females, not males. Many of the tribes also viewed women as relatively autonomous, in direct contrast to the views of the Western Europeans who colonized the United States.

The most important lesson we can draw from anthropological studies is that culture profoundly shape gender identity. Whatever genetic influences exists, it is the society we are socialized in that shapes our genetic endowments.

# Queer Theory

## Is Sexual orientation socially determined?

The advance in the rights of homosexuals in many parts of the world has led to the emergence of queer theory. The Italian feminist Teresa de Lauretis coined the phrase "queer theory" at a conference on lesbian and gay sexualities held at the University of California in 1990. Queer theory builds upon the social constructionist approach to sexuality developed by Gagnon and Simon and is also based on the work of Judith Butler. Queer theory emerged from gay/lesbian studies [which emerged from gender studies] in the 1980s. Till then, the term "queer" had a derogatory connotation, meaning "odd" or "peculiar" or "out of the ordinary". Queer is by definition whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant.

Queer theorists oppose the classification of individuals as either male or female on a biological basis because the sex chromosomes [X and Y] may exist as in Klinefelter syndrome [XXY]. Thus, the use of genotype to define just two sexes [male and female] is not correct.

People who believe sexual preference is always inborn are pure 'essentialists'. People who do not believe anyone is born with any predisposition toward any particular sexual preference are pure social constructionists. In Queer theory the debate is whether sexual orientation is natural or essential to the person, as an "essentialist" believes, or whether sexuality is a social construction and subject to change. The essentialist feminists believe that gender has an essential nature [as nurturing and caring for women, while being aggressive for men]. Due to this belief in the essential nature of a person, it is also natural to assume that a person's sexual orientation would be natural and essential to a person's personality.

MICHEL FOUCAULT: Foucault, the French philosopher, is known as the grandfather of queer theory and a central architect of the "construct" conception of sexuality [that is, sexual orientation is a socially chosen construct not natural]. Though Foucault died in 1984, his History of Sexuality is still mandatory reading in LGBTQ studies courses.

In the feminist theory, there is a contrast between sex [biological difference] and gender [culturally learned difference]. This basic distinction is rejected by queer theory. Queer theory offers the view that all identities are social constructions; the ideas of "male" and "female" are just as much the product of representations as masculinity and femininity. Queer theory is not just linked with homosexuality, but all forms of identity linked with sexuality. Queer theory is a project to subvert and undermine conventional attitudes to sexuality.

JUDITH BUTLER: Much of queer theory is influenced by Judith Butler's book "Gender Trouble" [1990], whose objective is to break the link between the categories of "sex" and "gender" so that all forms of sexual identity can be accepted. In order to do this, queer theory attacks the binary oppositions which underlie many traditional ideas about sexuality, for example man/woman, active/passive, gay/straight, and heterosexual/homosexual. Judith Butler's book titled Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity in 1990. This work has challenged ideas about gender identity and feminism, a movement that focuses on social, economic, and political equality for women. In this book, she wrote that the existing feminist movement was

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limited in how it defined gender. She expressed that this definition was outdated and still reflected the world's treatment of gender as a set of binary categories. This means that when we're born, we're typically placed into one of two distinct categories: male or female. These categories often define how we behave. For example, imagine a newborn baby girl in the hospital, swaddled in her pink blanket. As a toddler, she is taught that she should love the colour pink and play with dolls. She should grow up to be gentle, emotionally expressive, and nurturing. On the other hand, imagine a baby boy coming home in his blue blanket to a sports-themed nursery. He is taught to hide his emotions and to be a problem-solver.

Butler argues against this system of categorizing people, stating that gender should be seen as a fluid human trait that can shift and change in a given context rather than one that remains fixed. Further, she contends that women have been grouped together based on shared characteristics and interests, which can limit their ability to choose their own identities. Butler also challenged the prevailing attitude that sex causes gender, which then defines sexuality and desire. She argued that these factors should be independent of one another rather than inextricably connected.

Butler views gender as what we 'do' rather than 'who we are' as people. She compares gender to putting on a performance in a play, stating that our behaviors are not simply an expression of an innate gender, but that the performance itself creates gender. She uses the term **performativity** to describe this phenomenon.

**Butler rejects the idea that any one of us has an innate sexual identity. Instead, she focuses on "performance", so that repeated performances and representations of heterosexuality will create the illusion that heterosexuality is not only "normal" but right.** According to her, gender comes into being only as it is expressed, or performed. The performance is the thing we call gender. In other words, for Butler, gender is not a thing we have, but rather something we do at specific times and in specific circumstances. Thus, gender is more appropriately regarded as a verb than a noun. We do gender. Gender is doing; without doing—— without the action of performance----there is no gender. On the other hand, performances and representations of alternatives such as "drag queens", "butch lesbians", "camp gays" and "macho gays" have the capacity to subvert and "denaturalize" dominant heterosexual ideology. A drag queen is a person, usually a man, who dresses (or "drags") in female clothes and make-up for special occasions and usually because they are performing and/or entertaining. The term comes from Polari, a subset of English slang that was popular in some gay communities in the early part of the 20th century. A butch lesbian is a lesbian who dresses and acts like men. A camp gay is an effeminate way of being gay.

Queer theorists, including Judith Butler, argue that all sexual behaviours, all concepts linking sexual behaviours to sexual identities, and all categories of normative and deviant sexualities are social constructs. **In short, "sex is a norm." That is, normative and deviant behaviour are not biologically but rather socially constructed. In contrast to those who see sexuality as biological and gender as a social construction, Butler sees sex [implying sexual orientation] as a social construction like gender.** Queer theory disrupts the heteronormative assumptions [assumptions based on conventional understandings of gender and heterosexuality]. Queer theory takes into account all of the **marginalized sexual identities** that exist and gives permission for them to be **acknowledged as a legitimate alternative to traditional sexual identities.** Queer theory rejects the idea of sexuality as a stable concept and of heterosexuality as a norm. This destabilization of sexual identity places queer theory in the tradition of postmodern theories and deconstructionism. Queer theory underscores the idea that sexual identity is fluid; that is, it evolves and can change over the life course. Instead of seeing heterosexual or homosexual attraction as fixed in biology, queer theory interprets society as forcing sexual boundaries, or dichotomies, on people. "Straights" create boundaries between

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heterosexuality and homosexuality in order to create and secure a privileged straight identity. Since heterosexuals are able to take for granted their unacknowledged privilege, heterosexual rituals, social norms, and other behaviours go unseen, making heterosexual identity dominant in daily and institutional life. In **White Weddings: Romancing Heterosexuality in Popular Culture, Ingraham [1999]**, argues that weddings and marriages show that heterosexuality is ritualized cultural practice that "creates" rules for behaviour. Wedding rituals privilege heterosexual in both economic terms [e.g., taxation, health care, and housing benefits] and cultural ones [e.g., by reinforcing normative heterosexuality as the standard for legitimate sexual and cultural relations]. Similarly, **Amy Best [2000], in Prom Night** shows how prom [prom is a formal dance or gathering of high school students; the students dress in formal wear and attend in couples] encourages youth to practice a ritual that fashions masculine and feminine selves, and that recognizes the heterosexual couple as the idealized form for social and sexual relations. Queer theory has argued against this innate "naturalness" of heterosexuality. Queer theory criticizes the heterosexual/homosexual binary.

Queer theory argues that sociology is prejudiced towards heterosexuals, and that non heterosexual forces must be brought to the fore. Queer theorists argue that every major sociological topic [religion, globalization, body, etc.], as well as other subjects, including literature and even lesbian and gay studies, should bring queer voices to the center in order to challenge the heterosexual assumptions that underlie much contemporary thinking.

QUEER NATION is an LGBTQ activist organization founded in March 1990 in New York City, by HIV/AIDS activists from ACT UP. The four founders were outraged at the escalation of anti-gay and lesbian violence on the streets and prejudice in the arts and media. The group is known for its confrontational tactics, its slogans, and for the practice of outing. On March 20, 1990, sixty LGBTQ people gathered at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Services Center in New York's Greenwich Village to create a direct action [direct action occurs when a group takes an action which is intended to reveal an existing problem] organization. The goal of the unnamed organization was the elimination of homophobia, and the increase of gay, lesbian and bisexual visibility through a variety of tactics. The goals included a desire to make it clear to (straight) patrons that queers would not be restricted to gay bars for socializing, and to call attention to the fact that most "public" space was in fact heterosexual space. Through parodying straight behavior (such as "spin the bottle") at these events, queers refused to be invisible while publicly questioning the naturalized status of heterosexual coupling activity. Visibility actions like this one became known as "Queer Nights Out." The militant protest style of the group contrasted with more assimilationist gay rights organizations such as the Human Rights Campaign or the Log Cabin Republicans. Queer Nation was most effective and powerful in the early 1990s in the USA, and used direct action to fight for gay rights. They also worked with AIDS organization ACT UP as well as WHAM! Slogans used by Queer Nation include "Two, Four, Six, Eight! How Do You Know Your Kids Are Straight?" and "Out of the Closets and Into the Streets," and the widely imitated "We're Here! We're Queer! Get used to it!" Beginning in the summer of 2013, Queer Nation began to experience a resurgence of sorts. As anger began to rise within the American and global LGBT community over Russia's recently approved anti-gay laws, Queer Nation organized a series of actions throughout that summer and fall, pressuring corporations and public officials to divest from Russian holdings and assets, as well as to pressure public figures and corporations to withdraw sponsorship or participation in events held in or in the name of Russia, most prominently the 2014 Winter Olympics.

To the queer theorist, heterosexuality and homosexuality are binary social constructs. Queer theorists challenge the cultural notions of "straight" ideology. Hollywood pursues the "straight" theme as being the dominant theme to outline what masculine is. This is particularly noticeable in gangster films, action films and westerns, which never have "weak" (read: homosexual) men playing the heroes, with the exception of the film Brokeback Mountain.

# Chapter 2

# Feminism

## Objectives

- Understand what feminism is.
- Know how women got the right to vote in America in the wake of first wave of feminism.
- Grasp the concept of 'personal is political' in the second wave of feminism.
- Comprehend how the third wave is different from the second wave of feminism.

🏛 There never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect lawmakers. Susan Anthony

🏛 Patriarchy, like any system of domination, relies on socializing everyone to believe that in all human relations there is an inferior and a superior party, one person is strong, the other weak, and so it is natural for the powerful to rule over the powerless. Bell Hooks

# Introduction

We are born female and male, biological sexes, but we are created woman and man, socially recognized genders. "As a woman I have no country." Virginia Woolf. Aristotle famously said the "female is a deformed male." Aristotle considered the male to be more perfect of the two because he gives semen in the process of reproduction. In the "Timaeus", Plato says that women are created from the souls of the most wicked and irrational men. Feminism is known as a movement "of women, by women, and for women" to achieve women's rights. Feminism stands for gender equality, independence and empowerment to women. The idea is to fight against domination, discrimination and subordination. All of the schools of feminist thought begin with a common assumption: women are oppressed.

Feminism combined "femme", French for woman, with the suffix 'ism', meaning "political position." Feminism refers to political activism by women on behalf of women. The term originated in France in the 1880s, Great Britain in the 1890s, and the US in 1910. Sex is a designation based on biology, whereas gender is socially constructed and expressed. In most cases, sex and gender go together; most women are preliminary feminine. In some cases, however, a male expresses himself more femininely than most men, or a woman expresses herself in more masculine ways than most women.

Mary Wollstonecraft (d.1797) and Jane Austen (d.1817) are foremothers of the modern women's movement. They advocated for the dignity, intelligence and basic human potential of the female sex. However, it was not until the late 19th century that the efforts for women's equal rights coalesced into a clearly identifiable and self-conscious movement, or rather a series of movements. Prior to the suffragette movement in America and England, the position of women in these countries was not satisfactory. Women could not vote. They were not considered politically equal to men. They were denied rudimentary rights of a human being. There were restrictions on women in social, political and cultural fields. The feminist perspectives that exist today reflect one of the three "waves" (time periods) of the feminism, the belief that women are a group that has not been treated equally in society and that women must work together to alter their roles and achieve equity. Those feminists whose goal is that women be treated as individuals, as men are, are usually referred to as liberal feminists, whereas others, often known as radical feminists, focus on patriarchal structure.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Women and Economics [1898] provided the most substantial feminist analysis of housework. Gilman was inspired by utopian and Fabian socialism, which embraced cooperative and collective forms of social life. Gilman primarily rooted women's oppression in their relegation to housework and childcare. Gilman's famous feminist novel "The Yellow Wallpaper" [1892] highlights the depression that some women experience when they are relegated to the home, and are allowed few outlets to realize themselves —a phenomenon Betty Friedan, a half century later, would call "the problem that has no name". The major character in the novel is an upper-class woman whose efforts to write are obstructed by her husband who is a doctor. The husband prescribed her a "rest cure" for nervous disorder that in fact led to more depression. The wallpaper in the house has intricate designs that appear to the wife as a mysterious maze that imprisons women's desire for freedom. Thus, the wallpaper becomes a metaphor for the way the home stifles women's creativity and self actualization.

# Waves of Feminism

Rosemary Cadden, journalist with the Women's Suffrage Centenary Secretariat describes the first wave "shrieking sisterhood", the second wave "women's liberation" and the third wave "the glass ceiling".

# First Wave of Feminism

### THE BATTLE FOR SUFFRAGE 1848-1920

Journalist Marsha Lear of the New York Times first coined the term 'first wave' retroactively in 1968 along with the term "second-wave feminism."

The first wave feminism, beginning in 1848, revolved around the women's suffrage movement: the right to vote. This wave of feminism was focused around inequalities, such as education, employment, marriage laws (divorce and child custody laws), property rights and healthcare. The primary gains of first wave feminists were the right to vote and the right to practice birth control. However, this movement is most famous for the fight for women suffrage.

Some say feminism's first wave started with **Mary Wollstonecraft's book A Vindication of the rights of women** [published in England in 1792], advocating women's right to education. Wollstonecraft has been called "the first feminist" or "mother of feminism". While Marxist philosopher Rosa Luxemburg never spoke directly about the feminist cause, she wrote several articles advocating women's rights and universal suffrage. In 1800, women had little ②  control over their lot in life. The average married female gave birth to seven children. Higher education was off-limits. ③ Wealthier women could exercise limited authority in the domestic sphere but possessed no property rights or economic autonomy. The same social and legal restrictions applied to the lower class women as well. The first wave of feminism, which sprouted up alongside the abolition and temperance movements, from the end of the 19th century through the early 20th century, dealt mostly with women's suffrage and political rights. The first major organized women's resistance to sexism and patriarchy in the US sprung out of the abolitionist movement, the movement to end slavery. In 1838 Angelina Grimke became the first American woman to speak before a legislative body. In 1841 Lydia Child became the first female editor of a newspaper, the National Anti-Slavery Standard. White women who opposed the institution of slavery soon realized that they were also suffering inequalities under the racist, sexist, classist system of government in the United States. Fighting hard for the rights of black men, they realized that they probably deserved to vote and own land as well. When Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton travelled to **the first World Anti-Slavery Convention in London** [1840], the organizers refused to allow them to participate, being women. They applied their raised consciousness and organizing skills to themselves and fought this exclusion.

**SENECA FALLS CONVENTION 1848:** Both Elizabeth and Mott were **Quakers**, a spiritual denomination that was against slavery, and had attempted to create spaces where males and females could work in harmony. They organized the Seneca Falls Convention in a Methodist Church in Seneca Falls, New York in July 1848. The Convention was meant to connect women

over the common cause of equal rights. Elizabeth Cady read the **Declaration of Sentiments** modeled on the Declaration of Independence:

"All men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these rights, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government laying its foundation on such principles."

Stanton catalogued specific grievances women had suffered, including denial of the right to vote, exclusion from most forms of higher education, restrictions on employment, and denial of property rights on marriage. The Declaration of Sentiments objected to the following:

1. Women were not allowed to vote.
2. Women had to submit to laws when they had no voice in their formation.
3. Married women had no property rights (90% of women over 25 were married at that time.)
4. Husbands had legal power over and responsibility for their wives to the extent that they could imprison or beat them with impunity.
5. Divorce and child custody laws favoured men, giving no rights to women.
6. Women had to pay property taxes although they had no representation in the levying of these taxes.
7. Most occupations were closed to women and when women did work they were paid only a fraction of what men earned.
8. Women were not allowed to enter professions such as medicine or law.
9. Women had no means to gain an education since no college or university would accept women students.
10. With only a few exceptions, women were not allowed to participate in the affairs of the church.
- Women were robbed of their self-confidence and self-respect, and were made totally dependent on men.

Over 200 people signed the document, demanding equal rights for women. **Frederick Douglass** the former slave, spoke about equal rights for women on the second day of the Convention, when men were also allowed to attend and participate. The Declaration of Sentiments was ridiculed at the time. However, undaunted, patriots like Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, and **Sojourner Truth [famous for her 1851 speech: Ain't I a woman?]** travelled the country over the next forty years, convincing people otherwise. Concurrent with the fight for the vote was the fight for women to control their reproductive systems. The birth control movement was begun by Margaret Sanger, a public health nurse, around 1919. In 1936, the Supreme Court finally declassified birth control information as obscene. As obscene material it could not be legally publicly distributed. Until 1936 distributing birth control was a crime. It was not until 1965 that married couples in all states could obtain contraceptives legally. Do not confuse the right to birth control with the right to abortion. The famous abortion case, Roe v. Wade was in 1973.

**THE 19TH AMENDMENT 1920:** First wave feminism was led by suffragists such as Susan Anthony, Margaret Sangar, Anna Shaw, and **Elizabeth Stanton.** These women succeeded on August 26, 1920 with the passage of the 19th Amendment in the US, giving women the right to vote. [In 1902, Australia was the first country in the world where all women got the vote and could

become members of parliament. New Zealand had granted women the right to vote in 1893, but they could not become members of parliament until after WWI. The victory of the 19th Amendment came after decades of hard work and struggle, including educating the public with writings about women's status, marches, protests, fasting, and intentional arrest and imprisonment.

The United States was far from being the first country to implement women's suffrage: women had the ability to vote in New Zealand as early as 1893, in Australia in 1902, in Finland by 1906, in Norway by 1913 and even in the notoriously oppressive USSR by 1917. In England, the homeland of Wollstonecraft, more women started working away from home and attending Universities by 1910. Feminist Louise Weiss led the cause for women through *La Femme Nouvelle* in 1930s France. Decidedly, feminism was not solely an American cause.

# Second Wave of Feminism

## PERSONAL IS POLITICAL: DEMANDING EQUALITY WITH MEN: 1960-1988

Virginia Woolf wrote a letter in 1938 called, *Three Guineas*, which advocates for women's education and professional status. Her main arguments link to the ideals surrounding Second-Wave Feminism: women's entry into the public sphere is necessary, and societies that perpetuate ① social and gender inequalities must be re-structured. Women were restricted financially during the ② 1960s; a man's interference was necessary for any financial transaction/action. The military also closed its doors to females, save for the select few who trained to be nurses. Woolf comments on this, stating, "Thus we can use neither the pressure of force (defense), nor the pressure of money". Even before Second-Wave Feminism gained full force, women, such as Woolf, recognized that they were stripped of power and status. The second wave sought to explore women's sexuality and reproductive rights, as well as to rid the world of its male-dominated ideology and grant women positions in the public sphere.

**SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR:** The growing discontent surfaced in middle-class society with the publication of two influential books. As Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the Rights of Women" fueled activism by voicing her generation's sexual discrimination, so did the French Simone de Beauvoir's "Second Sex," published in French in 1949 and in English in 1952. De Beauvoir's book decried women's inferior status in society, reasoning that cultural distinctions between genders only served to reinforce patriarchy and the submission of women. One of her famous quotes [1949], "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman", states not only that gender is socially constructed, but also how woman is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her. Based on the view that "existentialism precedes essence" [one exists first, and through one's acts, one becomes something], de Beauvoir reasoned that an individual has absolute control over his/her fate. Since all cultural representations of the world around us have been produced by men, women read themselves in terms of masculine definitions and "dream through the dreams of men". Woman is thus regarded as the Other. For de Beauvoir, the gendered world of the home cripples women's ability to engage in the world. The Second Sex captures the frustrations and monotony experienced by housewives in their day-to-day lives.

**BETTY FRIEDAN: A LIBERAL FEMINIST:** The publication of The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan in 1963, which challenged the concept that women could only find fulfillment as wives and mothers, set off a second wave of feminism that lasted until the late 1980s and radically altered society's treatment of women. These books sparked white middle-class women's dissatisfaction with the roles of men and women. The second wave slogans included: "I am

woman, hear me roar!" In publications like "The BITCH Manifesto" and "Sisterhood is Powerful," feminists advocated for their place in the sun.

**GREER AND JUDITH LITTLE:** This Second Wave, also called Women's Liberation Movement, which grew alongside the civil rights movement in the 1960s, focused on women's legal and social equality and called for the end of sexism and misogyny. Feminists denounced the sexist power structures of a patriarchal society that oppressed women by enslaving them to traditional feminine constructs like homemaking and childrearing. Women fought for the opportunities naturally afforded to men, such as a successful career or control over one's own sexual freedom (they rallied over issues of rape, abortion, and birth control). The Australian feminist Greer stated in her 1970 book The Female Eunuch that men hate women and, as if that were not enough, women suffer from internalized misogyny and hate themselves too. Second-Wave Feminism exploited the hypocrisy of American society. America preaches freedom and equality, and yet, coercion, hierarchy and patriarchy flourished during that era (Little). **Judith Little** wrote a book titled, **Feminist Philosophy and Science Fiction**, which addresses these hypocrisies. In a perfect world (a 'utopia') women would be free to reach their full potential, and they would be viewed as having the same potentials as men (Little). Little's book outlines the work of philosopher **Immanuel Kant**, and his deontological theory of ethics, which includes his construction of absolute moral laws, referred to as the **Categorical Imperative.** Kant projected the concept that humanity must treat other humans as ends and not as mere means to ends. "**People deserve to be treated as beings who can reason, make choices, and determine their own plans in life**" **(Little).** According to Kant, a person should never be manipulated to suit one's needs because all people deserve to be treated as means to their own desires/happiness. Second-Wave Feminist activists advocated for people to acknowledge that women deserved the right to be happy and achieve that happiness for themselves, and that they were not just simply puppets of their husband's happiness. Women in the 1960s were expected to cater to men 24/7 because supposedly, the weight of the world rested on the men's shoulders.

**CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND FEMINISM:** Like the First Wave, the Second Wave grew out of a enormous social justice movement—the civil rights movement of Martin Luther King started to give rights to black Americans. Once again, women in this movement found that they themselves didn't have the rights that they were agitating for on behalf of others. They, therefore, created an independent Women's Liberation Movement. The second wave of feminism demanded more than just the right to vote, and addressed more deeply the question of women's equality with men, it concerns social, economic, political, and sexual life. Though women were more educated than they had been in the past, the only socially acceptable role for them was to get married and have children. **Second Wave feminism focuses on the goals of equal rights and opportunities for women and men.** While first wave feminism addressed legal inequalities, second wave feminism focused on social and cultural inequalities. Many second wave feminists were influenced by the rise of a Marxist intellectual movement called the New Left. While Marxism cast the working class as an oppressed social class, second wave feminism saw women as an oppressed class.

**GENDER INEQUALITY:** Previously the **orthodox view** was that men were more suited to hunting [earning livelihoods for their families], warfare [protecting their families], and ruling [being physically stronger], Females, in contrast, were designed for breeding, nurturing children, sexual gratification, producing heirs, and maintaining homes. **Janet Chafetz** points out that up to this time most women thought of work as a temporary activity intended to fill the time between completing school and getting married. As more women took jobs and began to regard them as careers, however, they began to compare their working conditions with those of men. Moreover, during **the Second World War**, women joined the labour force in record numbers, while many men were at war. Between 1940 and 1944, six million women went to work---a 500% increase in the number of women in paid labour. However, in postwar America, men's professions

opportunities expanded tremendously, but women's shrank. More than 2 million women who had held jobs during the wars were fired, and their positions were given to males. During these years, only 12% of married women and children under the age of 6 were employed outside their homes. Second wave projects focused on economic and social inequalities between the genders, and highlighted injustices like the glass ceiling and the wage gap in business, as well as the hyper-sexualization and commercialization of the female body.

**RADICAL GROUPS:** Groups such as the New York Radical Women (NYRW), **Redstockings** and Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH), aimed to eradicate sexism. They practiced zap actions, or dramatic public demonstrations that attracted media attention. One such zap action, the 1968 Miss America pageant protest by NYRW, propelled the feminist movement into mainstream media. Feminists parodied what they held to be a degrading "cattle parade" that reduced women to objects of beauty dominated by a patriarchy that sought to keep them in the home or in dull, low-paying jobs. The radical New York group called the Redstockings staged a counter pageant, in which they crowned a sheep as Miss America. The Redstockings encouraged groups of women to gather for **consciousness-raising** discussions, which involved sharing their personal experiences in the feminist struggle. Issues of rape, domestic violence, abortion and access to childcare came to the forefront of the feminist platforms. Through consciousness-raising, women could identify common struggles and receive support while feminism grew into a mass movement. From this form of engagement, the slogan "the personal is political" aptly summed up the goals of second-wave feminism. What were once private issues were now in the public realm.

**"THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL":** Despite the success of the first wave, women's personal lives had not changed; politics did not seem to address questions of gender such as reproduction, domestic violence and sexuality. The second wave of feminism, or the Women's Liberation Movement, attacked inequalities and sought to alter women's position in society. The Women's Movement was primarily responsible for bringing to light the large number of women who were physically assaulted by their husbands, and the *inadequacies of state services* for these women. Rape and sexual harassment in the workplace were other issues for which women had campaigned. "The personal is political", first coined by the feminist writer Carol Hanisch in Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation [1970], became a rallying cry of the second wave of feminism. Feminists made the oppression in their private lives a matter of public concern. The term was created to underscore what was happening in women's personal lives--i.e. access to health care, being responsible for all of the housework, possibly being sexually assaulted in our own homes--was a political issue. This was meant to 1. inspire women to be politically active in the issues that affected their lives and 2. make sure that politicians paid attention to women's lives--and look at how the laws ignored women. The message of this rallying cry was that women have suffered in private as individuals but refuse to any longer.

The "personal" includes those things one experiences as a female body, as well as those things that one experiences as a woman in the home and workplace. Menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, housework, rape, domestic abuse, sexual harassment and countless other topics were brought out of the private realm and into public discussion. By *politicizing* these personal things that essentially had been hushed up, feminists expanded the understanding of oppression. Women's bodies and homes, not just women's social and political existence, were recognised as the **sites of oppression.** Thus feminists blew apart the oft-used distinction between public life and private life.

When used to describe the distinction between the domestic sphere and the civil society, the dichotomy of the public and the private relegates women to the private sphere and sends men into the public. In this case the private is generally the family. The public is the realm of all that is not private: the public is politics, the military, employment, and everything else that does not

constitute domestic life. Because the spheres are set up as mutually exclusive, there exists the possibility that each sphere is governed by different principles. **Second wave feminism specifies that what is at issue is that women are largely excluded from public sphere where decisions that affect their lives are made.** This leaves issues such as spousal and child abuse out of public discussion and attention; the *'sanctity of the home'* protects government actors from unnecessary intrusion but it also blocks protection against the private harms in the home. Feminists argued that home can be an inherently dangerous place for many women when the state will not take measures to contest the "legality" of domestic violence and continues to view rape as a crime to be hidden. **Personal problems are political problems. Issues considered previously as women's individual or private problems----abortion and reproductive rights, violence against women, sexual harassment, child care, and housework etc-----became a political issue.**

Charlotte Bunch summarized the concept succinctly: "There is no private domain of a person's life that is not political and there is no political issue that is not ultimately personal."

**SUSAN ARGUES THAT THIS SLOGAN COMPRISES 4 SEPARATE CLAIMS:**

**First, it highlights the fact that the private sphere is a sphere of "power".** The political is the sphere in which there is power. The statement reflects that power also characterizes areas of life which are not usually political----areas such as family life and personal relationships. Domestic violence is one example of power pervading the private sphere and has, thus, been a key area of feminism. Radical feminists have sought to redefine 'the political' in that they have rejected the traditional notion that politics is located in the public sphere rather than the private sphere. They have therefore been reluctant to associate politics with elections, political parties, government and the state. Radical feminists have defined politics more broadly as power relationships — arrangements whereby one group of people is controlled by another. They argue that the primary power relationship has always been patriarchy in the private sphere. Thus they have argued that 'the personal is the political', as the domination of men and the subordination of women in wider society largely stems from unequal gender relations within the family or in personal or domestic life. Heterosexuality is an oppressive socially constructed patriarchal institution forcibly imposed upon women; it is the primary source of male power. Any woman therefore who enters into a heterosexual relationship is necessarily involved in a sexual politics that puts her at a disadvantage. Heterosexuality is characterized by male violence to women. **If the personal is political then family life and personal relationships should be subject to normative scrutiny.**

2) **The second way in which the personal is political is that the political sphere defines and infiltrates the personal.** Institutions such as the family are not immune from state interference; rather they are defined by the state. For example, the state defines marriage. It defines who may marry (a minor cannot marry), what the requirements for the marriage are, what legal rights and duties apply to married couples, and the conditions for ending the marriage (when divorce is allowed and what it entails). These conditions of marriage are defined by the state and imposed on married couples, regardless of their wishes. Marriage is just one of the ways in which the state is involved in the private sphere. Thus, it does not make sense to say that individual liberty requires that the private sphere be left immune from state interference.

3) **Third, the personal is political in that the private sphere---family life--------creates the psychological conditions that affect public life.** Family is the key agent of socialization. It means the norms we learn from the family do affect our lives and affect the way we understand society and ourselves and then form preferences. In patriarchal societies, socialization is deeply gendered. Different norms affect the way that men and women are supposed to look: norms of clothing, make-up and beauty are sex-specific. The family or private sphere is the arena in which

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we learn such norms and develop our attitudes. Girls and boys come to understand what sort of clothes and toys are appropriate for their gender and in time develop different preferences. If children grow up in a household that is characterized by the gendered division of labour, they will internalize these gendered differences and ideas that women are nurturers and responsible for childcare, while men are breadwinners. This undermines gender equality. Gender differences are instilled in the next generation and perpetuated in society (the public sphere).

Fourthly, the statement implies that the gendered division of labour within the private sphere, with women taking on most or all of the domestic and caring tasks, creates barriers for women in every other sphere. Some of the barriers occur as a direct result of the gendered division of labour. Women's concentration in the private sphere spills over into public life, in the sense that women are underrepresented in positions of power such as government, judiciary and business.

## ACHIEVEMENTS

Major accomplishments of second-wave feminism were the institution of sexual harassment laws, and the passing of Title IX, which formally invited women into high school and collegiate athletics. JFK's Commission on the Status of Women, the Equal Pay Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Griswold v. Connecticut, Eisenstadt v. Baird, the passage of WIC in 1972, Roe v. Wade, the 1974 Equal Credit Opportunity Act; Taylor v. Louisiana, Nebraska passing in 1976 the first law against marital rape, and the 1978 Pregnancy Discrimination Act are just some of the other important legal battles won for women's equality during the Second Wave.

EEOC: A federal law enforcement agency that enforces laws against workplace discrimination. The EEOC investigates discrimination complaints based on an individual's race, color, national origin, religion, sex, age, disability, genetic information, and retaliation for opposing a discriminatory practice. In 1980, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defined sexual harassment as unwelcome sexual advances or sexual conduct, verbal or physical, that interferes with a person's performance or creates a hostile working environment. Such discrimination on the basis of sex is barred in the workplace by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and in colleges and universities that receive federal funds by Title IX. In a series of decisions, the Supreme Court has ruled that employers are responsible for maintaining a harassment-free workplace. Legislation such as this has helped to protect the rights of women in the workplace and at schools.

Important individual or non-legal milestones include 50,000 women participating in Women Strike for Peace in 1961, "Sex and Caste" written by Casey Hayden and Mary King in 1965, the National Organization for Women [NOW] forming in 1966, the 1968 protest of the Miss America Pageant, The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) forming in 1968, Our Bodies, Ourselves published in 1970, the August 26, 1970 Women's Strike for Equality, Gloria Steinem's 1972 founding of Ms. magazine and the National Women's Political Caucus and the opening of the first battered women's shelter. The loss of hope after the failure of the US to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, caused the Second Wave to slowly trickle away

The second wave ended in the late 1980s with the Feminist Sex Wars (a division between the 'anti-pornography' feminists and the 'sex-positive' feminists). Several major sex-negative feminists emerged from the social criticism arm of the Second Wave, including anti-porn crusaders Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon. These women did the movement admirable service in bringing into question the media colonization of the female body. The patriarchal media, eager to undercut the impressive force of the Second-Wave movement, criticized this sex-negativity as a way to make feminists look angry and man-hating, or cold and unfeeling.

# Third wave of Feminism

## ANITA HILL CASE 1991

The 1980s and 1990s saw a third wave of feminism. If second-wave feminism started with the 1968 Miss America pageant protest, the third wave began with the 1991 Clarence Thomas Supreme Court confirmation hearings. The proceedings attracted widespread national attention when Anita Hill, a law professor at the University of Oklahoma, alleged sexual harassment by Thomas, when he was head of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. Thomas' eventual confirmation as the Supreme Court Justice by the Senate enraged and re-energized feminists across the country. A repercussion of the Hill-Thomas controversy was the increased involvement of women in politics. The media heralded the 1992 election year as the "Year of the Woman" when a record number of women ran for public office and won. In the U.S. Senate, eleven women ran and four won seats. In the House of Representatives, twenty-four women won new seats. Many commentators saw this increase as a direct reaction to the Thomas nomination by the Senate. His appointment dismayed many women, who felt that Anita Hill's allegations were not taken seriously by a Senate that was 98% male. **Rebecca Walker's essay, "Becoming the Third Wave," published in the January 1992 edition of Ms. magazine, voiced this feminist revival. So the origin of the third wave is sometimes traced to Rebecca Walker's article, 'Becoming the Third Wave,' in which she stated, 'I am not a postfeminist feminist. I am the Third Wave'.** ['Post feminism' means that the struggles of second wave feminism have been achieved, or are no longer an issue, making third-wave feminism irrelevant and unnecessary.]

Naomi Woolf's (1991) The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Used Against Women and Susan Faludi's (1991) Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women are attributed with setting the stage for third wave feminism.

Having the successes of the first two waves of feminism – the right to vote, the right to work, a greater right to one's own body, a greater right to education – third-wave feminists felt the need for further changes in the stereotypes against women and in the media portrayals of women as well as in the language that is used to define women. The movement has also adopted such names as grrl power, riot-grrl feminism, lipstick feminism, transfeminism, and cyborg feminism.

The roots of **intersectional feminism** can be said to be found in the roots of third-wave feminism that has focused on ideas like queer theory, abolishing gender role expectations and stereotypes, anti-racism, and women-of-colour, girl power, ecofeminism, cyber feminism, transgender politics, and defending sex work, pornography, reproductive rights, and sex-positivity.

SlutWalks are protests that take place to raise awareness about rape, and to counter the popular response to rape: that women should dress more modestly. Instead, SlutWalks popularize the idea that men should be taught not to rape. The first SlutWalk in Toronto, Canada in 2011 took place in response to a Toronto police officer who stated, "Women should avoid dressing like sluts in order not to be victimized." These walks were a protest against rape culture, but have been criticized by some as reinforcing rather than challenging male-defined sexuality, and as "pornification" of protest.

**Power feminism of 1990s,** with its emphasis on empowering women, was an influential in shaping the third wave. In 1993, Naomi Woolf argued that it is self-defeating to focus on the social causes of inequalities and the harm that women suffer. As an alternative, Woolf

advocates power feminism, which contends that society doesn't oppress women, because women have the power to control what happens to them. Woolf urges women to stop thinking of themselves as victims, and to capitalize on the power inherent in their majority status. The only thing holding women back from equality is their own belief that they are victims. [Developed from works including Camille Paglia's "Sexual Personae," which posited that men's obsession with female sexuality rendered them the weaker sex, power feminism contrasted the second-wave perspective of women as victims of patriarchy.]

## SIX FEATURES OF THIRD-WAVE FEMINISM GENERATION X FEMINISM 1990s

### 1. RECOGNIZING DIFFERENCES AMONG WOMEN: TRANSVERSAL POLITICS

One of the primary criticisms of second wave feminism was that it rested on the assumption that *gender* (not colour, race etc) was the key status around which all oppression was organized. Women are not "simply" women. A woman's "femaleness" is substantially modified and differentiated by factors such as race, ethnicity, class, age, and religion. Besides being a woman, oppression could also be on the basis of belonging to poor class or a minority race. **Thus, to achieve gender equality without simultaneously achieving race and class equality is to achieve very little for those women whose class or ethnicity is the primary source of their oppression.** Primarily due to pressure by feminists of colour [blacks], who felt that second wave feminism rendered variations by race and class invisible, the third wave has focused on the ways in which race, colour and gender----and other statuses-----are part of the complex system of oppression. The third wave assumes that multiple systems of domination create inequality. This form of feminism involves a fusion of feminist theory with critical race theory. The product---race, class, and gender theory---assumes that multiple systems of domination create inequality, both alone and as a result of interactions with each other. This theoretical paradigm assumes that systems of oppression and domination (patriarchy, capitalism, racial domination) exist independently and are woven together in what Zinn refers to as a "matrix of domination". The focus of third wave is primarily on access to power, relationships in the family, reproductive rights, and economic self-sufficiency-----all of which vary by race and class. According to the third-wave feminists, second-wave feminism had at its heart an understanding of "woman" that was essentially "white and middle class". Third wave feminism is similar to second wave feminism, but looks at it from the view of **all**, *rather than* simply *the white middle-class women* who seemed to have dominated second-wave feminism. Consequently the notion of a "global sisterhood", so central to second-wave feminism, is a fable. "Sisterhood is powerful" means that all women are sisters, there is no inherent real conflict among women, and solidarity is unproblematic. This argument also said that they all shared the same condition of oppression. On the contrary, white women are just as capable of oppressing black women as white men. With this wave of feminism what can be seen is a desire to challenge or avoid the assumption that there is a universal female identity and over-emphasizing of the experience of the upper-middle class white woman. Books such as This Bridge Called My Back [Morago and Anzaldua] and All the Women Are White, All the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies [Patricia and Barbara], critiqued second-wave feminism for its focus primarily on the problems of white women.

### 2. BUILDING COALITIONS

A second feature is a commitment to building alliances **with men and other groups that work against various kinds of oppression.** Previously feminism had focused primarily on the needs and rights of white, heterosexual women. Third-wavers want to get beyond these divisions and build a movement that not only accepts but celebrates **diversity.**

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## 3. ENGAGING IN EVERYDAY RESISTANCE

Although appreciative of the achievements of earlier waves of feminism, third-wave feminists insist that the reforms won by the second-wave have not been woven into everyday life. According to **Shani Jamila [2002],** laws no longer permit race and gender to be used as automatic barriers, but women and minorities still experience injustices. This motivates third-wavers to **challenge racist comments in the workplace** and on the street, confront **homophobic attitudes,** and be willing to reject class privileges. According to Jennifer, for third-wave feminists "our politics emerge from our everyday lives." Personal acts are a key way to instigate change.

## 4. BEING MEDIA SAVVY

*understand*

More than previous generations, third-wavers are media savvy. They grew up in a media-saturated world, so engaging media is part of how they define their identities, interrogate politics, and advance a feminist agenda. Whereas second-wave feminists waited for the 6p.m. news broadcast to learn about the day's events, third-wavers are likely to learn immediately of new developments from text messages, news channels, and blogs, and they often post their own videos of rallies and other events on YouTube and other websites. **MomsRising** is a movement dedicated to changing government policies in America regarding maternity leave, flexible work hours and health care for children. MomsRising relies on cyberspace mobilization to increase membership, keep members informed about issues, and organize members for political impact. Third-wave feminists also use mass and social media to advance their ideas. **Singer Tori Amos's songs decry violence against women. She founded RAINN:** The Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network, which is a national hotline. The feminist punk movement, **riot grrrl,** produces music, art, and "zines" that address issues such as rape, domestic abuse, female empowerment and sexuality. The movement encourages the women to be outspoken, empowered and passionate. The web is an important aspect of the new **"girlie feminism."** E-zines have provided "cybergrrls" and "netgrrls", another kind of women-only space.

## 5. EMBRACING AESTHETICS AND CONSUMERISM

Many young women see celebrities as role models. Thus, some third-wave feminists embrace **consumerism**—spending money to belong to or be seen at the "right" restaurant, spas, and stores and to acquire status symbols, including designer clothes and name-brand products. An aspect of third wave feminism that mystifies the mothers of the earlier feminist movement is the readoption by young feminists of the very lipstick and high heels that the first two phases of the movement identified with male oppression. The **"grrls"** of the third wave have stepped onto the stage as strong and empowered, eschewing victimization and defining feminine beauty for *themselves* as subjects, not as objects of a sexist patriarchy.

*avoid*

## 6. INDIVIDUALISM

While second-wave feminism operated through coalition building and mass activism, third-wave feminism emphasized **individualism**—individual identities, goals and strategies. The movement of third-wave feminism is said to have arisen out of the realization that women are of many colours, ethnicities, nationalities, religions and cultural backgrounds. With such a diversity, there can be no collective political agenda. Each woman defines feminism on her own terms, and lives her life on the principle that every woman can choose to be whatever she wants to be. One example of such individualism is autobiographical essays on blogs or social network pages. The third wave's emphasis on individualism does not cultivate a cohesive political agenda. Without moving forward with a political agenda, change is unlikely to happen [Crawford; 2004]. Some women believe that if they do well in education and work hard, they can succeed in any career they choose. But they, writes Julia Wood, will confront obstacles such as lower pay than male peers. Obstacles such as these are not removed by individual effort; they require structural

change, and structural change grows out of collective political action. While third-wave feminists do not reject political activism, more stress is put upon one's "personal empowerment as a starting point for societal change" (Rockler-Gladen). People who are empowered affect those around them, defying stereotypical gender identities and shattering the idea of gender norms. This effect does not directly instigate political change, but rather slowly creates changes in social norms.

In sum, third-wave feminists use media, particularly social media, to build on and go beyond the ideas and accomplishments of prior feminist movements in an effort to make feminism more inclusive, engaged with everyday life, and more individualistic.

# The Suffragette Movement in Britain

In 1903, the Women's Social and Political Union [WSPU] was established under the leadership of Emmeline Pankhurst [1857-1928] and her two daughters, Christabel and Sylvia. In their drive to secure the right to vote for women, the suffragettes [this word is used in Britain, while suffragists is used in America] engaged in militant and often violent tactics. Imprisoned suffragettes began hunger strikes, while one suffragete, Emily Davison, threw herself at the foot of the horses at the Derby and was killed. Despite the mounting pressure for women's suffrage, Parliament took no action on the issue prior to 1914. The Representation of the People Act of 1918 granted the right to vote to women over the age of 30 and extended male voting rights by abolishing virtually all property qualifications. The Representation of the People Act of 1928 extended the right to vote to women on equal terms with men by reducing the voting age for women from 30 to 21.

# Chapter 3
# Theories of Feminism

## Objectives

- Understand the ideas of liberal feminism and radical feminism.
- Grasp the difference between liberal feminism and radical feminism.
- Understand how Marxist feminists have been influenced by the ideas of Karl Marx.
- Know how socialist feminism is different from radical feminism and Marxist feminism.
- Comprehend the impact of Freud's psychoanalysis on feminists.
- Grasp the 'deconstruction' theme of postmodern feminism.

I. Liberal Feminism ( عورتوں کے حقوق برابری کے دعوے دار )
II. Radical Feminism ( women centered )
III. Marxist Feminism ( capitalist سے پریشان عورتیں )
IV. Socialist Feminism

Though we have the courage to raise our daughters more like our sons, we've rarely had the courage to raise our sons like our daughters. Gloria Steinem, founder of Ms. Magazine

V. Psychoanalytical Feminism. ↓ (focus on internal & emotional issues of women)

Men, their rights and nothing more; women their rights and nothing less. Susan Anthony

VI. Postmodern Feminism

(combo of radical + Marxist)

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# Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminists believe that women have the same mental capacity as their male counterparts and should be given the same opportunities in the legal, political, economic and social spheres. Liberals believed equality in the public sphere of life. For them men have more rights and power than women do and to counter that they seek reforms through which equality can be established and maintained. Early liberal feminists also argued for equality in education, in the right to vote, in employment and wage rate and the limited right to terminate pregnancy and other rights specifically in the private sphere which can put women on equal level with men.

"What liberal really means is someone who believes that those who have more than enough should share a little with those who don't. And those principles have consistently been in place during this country's most prosperous times. So if that's a liberal, then I am a liberal, and hang me." – Lisa Simpson

As the first feminist text was by the liberal feminist, Many Wollstonecraft, and the first wave of feminism was heavily influenced by liberal feminism, it can be argued that liberal feminism is the mother of feminism and its ideas. As radical feminism began in the 1960s, it can be seen as the child of liberal feminism, building it on its predecessor's ideas. **Liberal feminists champion legal and political equality with men. Equality thus means equal access to the public realm.** Radical feminists however are primarily concerned about equality in family and personal life. This shows that while liberal feminists focus on women in the public sphere, radical feminists focus on women in the private sphere.

Liberal feminism holds that the oppression of women is the denial of their equal rights, representation, and access to opportunities. Liberal feminism takes a gender-neutral/gender-blind approach and holds that all men and women are created equal and should be treated the same, and seeks to reform oppressive systems. Liberal feminism focuses strongly on fixing women's exclusion from political power.

Liberal feminism is a second-wave feminist movement which advocates women's equality in all spheres of life. The central claim of liberal feminists is that all humans deserve freedom of choice and equality of opportunity. It assumes that the key problem of gender inequality is the domination of institutions by men. Men control the economic sphere, the political sphere, the judicial sphere, the educational sphere, the medical sphere, and so on. Liberal feminism focuses primarily on transforming and reforming these existing structures so that membership and **power** inside these institutions are **shared** across gender lines.

Liberal feminism's long historical pedigree is exhibited in the works of Mary Wollstonecraft, who wrote **A Vindication of the Rights of Women** in 1792. Wollstonecraft argued for the fundamental equality of men and women. She recommended educational reforms, Likewise, John Stuart Mill, in the 19th century, emphasized the essential equality of men and women. He believed that women and men should have equal rights, and that "until conditions of equality exist, no one can possibly assess the natural differences between women and men. What is natural to the two sexes can only be found out by allowing both to develop and use their faculties freely". He argued for feminism on utilitarian grounds. Mill was appalled by the domination over women which most men exerted in marriages. Mill, like Wollstonecraft, compared sexual inequality to

- Mary wallstonecraft
- John stuart Mill
- Betty Friedan
- Na

slavery in his book **The Subjection of Women.** Mill advocated reform of the property laws so that women retained rights to their property after marriage.

If the principle of democracy is true, we **ought** to act as if we believed it, and not to **ordain** that to be born a girl instead of a boy, any more than to be born black instead of white, or a commoner instead of a nobleman, shall decide the person's position throughout life. **John Stuart Mill**

**This perspective focuses primarily on providing opportunities for the _inclusion_ of women in traditionally male-dominated areas.** Women, liberal feminists argue, are human beings; they have the same **inalienable** rights as men. A woman's sex is irrelevant to her rights; women are capable of full **rationality** and therefore are entitled to full human rights. Thus, women deserve equality because they have the same capabilities as men. Oppression is thought to be caused by irrational beliefs that women are less capable than men and by rigid gender-role conditioning. In general, **liberal feminists have focused on _reforming_ existing systems.** Some important contributors to liberal feminism during the 20th century have included, Betty Friedan and Naomi Woolf.

However, women are denied equal rights with men, and as a group are not allowed such freedoms that men as a group are permitted to enjoy. In the mid-1900s, many white, middle-class women were living what they had been told was the American dream: their husbands earned the income while they took care of the children, maintained their homes, and **chauffeured** the children in their station wagons. But many of these women were not happy. They loved their families and homes, but they also wanted an identity beyond the home.

The liberal feminist movement crystallized in 1963 with publication of Betty Friedan's landmark book, **The Feminine Mystique.** Friedan identified **"the problem that has no name",** by which she meant the chronic discontent that many white, middle-class American women felt, a dispiriting **boredom** or emptiness in the midst of **affluent** lives. White, middle-class women [Friedan did not discuss working-class or African American women] had actually lost ground after World War II, when many left wartime employment and settled as wives and mothers, only to suffer from the "happy home maker" syndrome which undermined their intellectual capacity and public **aspirations.** College-educated women, she observed, "seemed suddenly incapable of any ambition, any vision, any passion, except the pursuit of a wedding ring." Friedan blamed a massive propaganda campaign by women's magazines for brainwashing women to embrace the **"feminine mystique"** of blissful domesticity in which fulfillment came only with marriage and motherhood. Women, Friedan claimed, "were being **duped** into believing homemaking was their natural destiny." This book inspired women who felt trapped by a suffocating ideal of household **drudgery.** Friedan named the problem, and defined it as a political issue, not a personal one. She pointed out that women were not able to **pursue** personal development because of political reasons: American institutions, especially laws, kept many women confined to domestic roles with no opportunity for fulfillment in arenas outside of home life.

In 1963, President Kennedy signed the **Equal Pay Act**, which required employers to pay male and female workers the same wage for the same job. **The Civil Rights Act of 1964** included a provision called Title VII that outlawed sexual discrimination in employment. Acting according to the liberal belief that women and men are alike in most respects and are therefore entitled to equal rights and opportunities, Friedan and other activists founded the National Organization for Women [NOW] in 1966. They chose the acronym NOW because it was part of a popular civil rights chant: "What do you want?" protesters yelled. "FREEDOM!" "When do you want it?" "NOW!" NOW sought to end gender discrimination in the workplace and spearheaded efforts to legalize abortion and obtain federal and state support for child-care centres. When Title IX did not exist in America, girls who wanted to do sports at school were limited to cheerleading

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and gymnastics. Until Title IX was passed, most schools did not offer basketball, volleyball, competitive swimming, and hockey for girls. **Title IX of the Educational Amendment of 1972** barred discrimination on the basis of sex in any educational programme or activity receiving federal financial assistance. In 1973, the American Supreme Court, in its **Roe v Wade** decision, legalized abortion.

The six core issues that NOW addresses are abortion rights-reproductive issues, violence against women, constitutional equality, promoting diversity-ending racism, lesbian rights, and economic justice. In 1972, NOW and other women activist groups fought to ratify the **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)** to the Constitution, which affirmed that women and men have equal rights under the law. Although passage failed, the women's rights movement has made significant inroads in reproductive rights, sexual harassment laws, pay discrimination, and equality of women's sports programmes in schools. Although, initially liberal feminism focused on white, middle-class, heterosexual, young or middle-aged women, it now, as a result of criticism, pays attention to other women as well.

# Radical Feminism

*• woman centered*
*• Creates gender differences not equality.*

Radical feminism, also called the "Women's Liberation Movement" emerged during the second wave. It grew out of New Left politics that protested the Vietnam War and fought for civil rights. New Left men treated women as subordinates, expecting them to make coffee, type news releases, etc. In 1964, women in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] challenged the sexism in the New Left, but most male members were unresponsive. In 1965, women in the Students for a Democratic Society also found no receptivity to their demands for equality. Outraged by men's negative response, many women withdrew from the **New Left** and formed their own organizations.

*psychologist/psychiatrist*

These feminists declared that they were the experts—not male doctors, shrinks, religious leaders, fathers, or husbands—when it came to abortion, rape, pregnancy, and female sexuality. They lobbied for laws and court decisions to strike down legal inequality, such as Title IX, the Equal Pay Act, and *Roe v. Wade.*

According to **Title IX (1972),** no person in America can be excluded on the basis of sex from participating in, or be denied the benefits of, or discriminated under any education programme or any activity, such as sports, receiving federal funds. Title IX now promotes equal opportunities in high school and college sports; both women and men can now be firefighters, police officers, soldiers, doctors and lawyers. **Abortion was legalized in 1973 by the Supreme Court in Roe v Wade case.** However, the goals still need to be realized completely. On average, women today earn less than the males. Women in business continue to experience **the "glass ceiling":** a situation where they are not promoted when they are qualified just because they are women.

Groups such as the **New York Radical Women (NYRW), Redstockings** and **Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH),** aimed to eradicate sexism. They practiced zap actions, or dramatic public demonstrations that attracted media attention. One such zap action, the 1968 Miss America pageant protest by NYRW, propelled the feminist movement into mainstream media. The Redstockings encouraged groups of women to gather for **consciousness-raising** discussions, which involved sharing their personal experiences in the feminist struggle. Issues of rape, domestic violence, abortion and access to childcare came to the forefront of the feminist platforms. Through consciousness-raising, women could identify common struggles and receive support while feminism grew into a mass movement. From this form of

engagement, the slogan "the personal is political" aptly summed up the goals of second-wa feminism. What were once private issues were now in the public realm.

In 1968, the first national women's liberation conference took place in Chicago, and in t 1970s, feminist activists began to witness the fruits of their labors in earnest. In 1972, Washingt D.C., established the first rape crisis hotline, and **the Supreme Court legalized abortion Roe v. Wade in 1973.** Two years later, the United States facilitated the first global forum women's issues.

Liberal feminism wants equal rights for both women and men and so the focus is on gen equality. They want to reform the existing system not abolish it. On the contrary, radical femini is "radical" because it is "woman-centred", envisioning a new social order where women are subordinated to men. Unlike liberal feminism, radical feminism is concerned with women's righ rather than gender equality, and emphasizes the differences between men and women. In th respect, radical feminism is sometimes also referred to as gynocentrism [or woman-cent approach]. During the second wave of feminism, radical feminists were the first to bring attention such issues as abortion and equal pay. This perspective arose within second wa feminism, but is also a focus of third wave feminists. Radical feminism developed out of vario radical movements of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States. The Women's Internation Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH), the Redstockings, the New York Radical Feminists a many" other women-liberation groups "throughout the U.S. perceived themselves revolutionaries rather than reformers." (Tong) **Radical feminists argue that refor oriented approaches like those supported by liberal feminists will never be sufficie to eliminate women oppression which, according to radical feminism, is rooted patriarchy.** Because educational, political, and legal institutions in which policies operate a supported by patriarchal systems, radical feminists argue that these vehicles cannot possibly un women oppression. **In other words: "The master's tools will never dismantle t master's house". [Lorde 1984]** Radical feminists favour a complete overhaul, dismantling, uprooting of patriarchal social and cultural institutions. While liberal feminists desire power to redistributed, radical feminists consider power in terms of domination and subordinatio relationship. Radical feminists are skeptical of liberal feminist approach to achieving gen equity.

**PATRIARCHY:** Radical feminists, or "radfems", believe that the main cause of wome oppression and gender inequality is patriarchy. Patriarchy is a social system in which men a class hold power and exert authority over women, who are oppressed as a class. **Patriarchy i universal system in which men dominate women.** Patriarchy is used by radical feminists refer to a society based on universal male supremacy and female subordination. All women a oppressed irrespective of historical, national, cultural, class, racial or ethnic differences. Th perspective assumes that inequities and oppression stem from how the system creates men an women differently (gender identities). From early childhood, girls are taught to be caring supportive and cooperative, whereas boys are taught to be independent, assertive and competitiv Girls are told to "look like a lady" and are reprimanded when they do not act "ladylike". Similarl boys are told they "they do not cry " and "to act like a man". The goal of radical feminism is t challenge and overthrow this system of patriarchy. Radical feminists believe that eliminatin patriarchy will create a just and free society for everyone.

**BIOLOGICAL REASON FOR MALE AGGRESSION :** Women's oppression is rooted either in men control of woman's biological capacity for motherhood or in the innate, biologically determine aggression of the male, as manifest in rape. Those who do argue for a biological explanation argu that "male" biology is to blame; men are naturally aggressive and use their aggression to contro women [as in rape and domestic violence]. **Mary Daly [1978], in Gyn/Ecology: Th Metaethics of Radical Feminism,** documents the ways in which men have used aggression t

control women. She cites Indian suttee, Chinese foot binding, and European witch hunts as the ways in which men have systematically abused women and used violence against women's bodies to control them. Radical feminists do not deny biological differences between women and men, but they challenge the meanings given to them. Radical feminists reject the view that women's subordination is linked with their biological inferiority.

# Types of Radical Feminism

In Rosemarie Tong's Feminist Thought, Tong brings to light two types of radical feminists: radical-libertarian and radical-cultural feminists. They differ in their views vis-à-vis the root causes of sexism or patriarchy and its elimination. Those who view the woman's reproductive/ maternal role as a vehicle for oppression within society are radical-libertarian feminists, while those who view this role as a tool for empowerment are radical-cultural feminists. Both Radical Cultural Feminism (RCF) and Radical Libertarian Feminism (RLF) agree that the oppression of women stands as the oldest, most widespread, most entrenched, and most brutal form of oppression. (Tong) Nonetheless, the two groups differ quite radically on issues such as reproduction, gender definition, pornography, sexuality and biological versus environmental origins of masculine and feminine traits.

## RADICAL- LIBERTARIAN FEMINISM: FIRESTONE'S AND PIERCY'S BIOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

- be like women
- control over reproductive system

The radical-libertarian feminists advocate natural reproduction as a hindrance to women and their subsequent success in a patriarchal society. These feminists longed for androgyny. They also advocate artificial means of reproduction so that less time is devoted to pregnancy and more time is devoted to worthwhile things. They are strong promoters of abortion, contraceptives and other forms of birth control.
both male & female qualities • favours of Androgynous society • favour of pornography

1. ANDROGYNY: Just as the ultimate goal the communist revolution is a classless society, the ultimate goal of a feminist revolution is an androgynous society. RLFs long for all men and women to adopt some form of androgynous combination of the best of masculine and feminine traits. Millett suggests in "Theory of Sexual Politics" that all masculine and feminine traits must undergo feminist analysis and the best traits from each combined to form the "ideal" androgynous person.

2. REPRODUCTION AND MOTHERHOOD: Shulamith Firestone (1945 – 2012) was a Canadian-born radical feminist, a founding member of the New York Radical Women, Redstockings, and New York Radical Feminists. If we want to understand why women are subordinate to men, we require a biological, not an economic, explanation, asserted Firestone in "The Dialectic of Sex : The Case for Feminist Revolution [1970]". Because Firestone believed that the roots of women's oppression are biological, she asserted that women's liberation requires a biological revolution, in much the same way that Marx concluded that the economic oppression of workers required an economic revolution. Whereas the proletariat must seize the means of "production" in order to eliminate the economic class system, women must seize control of the means of "reproduction" in order to eliminate the sexual class system. As soon as the biological realities of reproduction are overcome, said Flintstone, the fact that some persons have wombs and others have phalli will no longer matter culturally. The only valid distinction between women and men will have been vanquished. The need for biological family, according to Firestone, will disappear, when technology would be able to perfect the "artificial" ways of reproduction; hence no need for genital heterosexuality for human reproduction. Women would be emancipated if they could free themselves from "the tyranny of reproduction" [Mandel]. The joy of giving birth invoked in society is a patriarchal myth. In fact, pregnancy is, according to Firestone "barbaric", and like "shitting a pumpkin". According to radical-libertarian feminists, assertions such as "children need their mothers", "mothers need their children", and "all

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women need to be mothers", are simply means to create mothers; women are not born with a inherent desire to engage in reproduction/ gestation/ motherhood. Radical-libertarian feminists long for androgyny and hence embrace reproductive technologies as they can help women escape from the chains of motherhood and childbirth. <u>Radical-libertarian feminists are convinced the less women are involved in the reproductive process, the more time and energy they will have to engage in society's productive processes.</u> RLFs advise women to maximize use of reproductive-controlling technologies of contraception and abortion. Firestone argued that true gender equality was impossible to achieve until science freed women from their biological role as bearers of children. Women should not remain enchained to reproducing the human species. She envisioned an artificial womb in which fetuses could be grown until they reached the newborn stage, at which point they would be raised for the next several years in a commune-like household of eight to ten adults. Similarly in **Piercy's work of fiction Woman on the Edge of Time,** this theory is demonstrated in a Utopian society where all reproduction takes place via advanced machines called "brooders" that fertilize eggs and raise embryos. Children are to be raised by three parents in a setting where no one knows who their biological children are. Already, new technological ways include the artificial insemination by donor, in vitro fertilization and embryo transfer. When there are no longer distinct reproductive and productive roles for women and men, Firestone believed it will be possible to overcome all the relations and structures that have been problematic: oppressing male/oppressed female; exploiting capitalist/exploited worker. Thus Firestone envisioned an androgynous culture. **The biological family's demise as a reproductive unit will also spell its demise as an economic unit.** Capitalism requires women to give birth to the future workers by being confined to the domestic realm. With women not required for reproduction due to technology, the primary rationale for keeping them at home disappears, and then woman can also enter the workplace along with men.

**3. PORNOGRAPHY:** Radical-libertarian feminists assert that society considers married heterosexuals as good girls and boys, while unmarried heterosexuals, lesbians, gays, and prostitutes as bad girls and boys. Thus, these feminists look favorably on pornography as a liberating tool, and want women's sexuality liberated from all sexual taboo.

## RADICAL-CULTURAL FEMINISM
• Be like women
• reject androgynous system

Radical-cultural feminists such as Dworkin, Mary Daly and MacKinnon criticize these ideas stating that reproduction is the only trump card women have to gain power.
• use your reproductive quality

**1. ANDROGYNY:** Radical-cultural feminists reject androgyny as a desirable goal. Instead of believing liberated women must exhibit both masculine and feminine traits and behaviour, the feminists express the view that it is better to be feminine than it is to be masculine. Thus, women should not try to be like men; they should try to be more like women. The radical-cultural feminists reject masculinity and encourage women to be more like women and emphasize the values and virtues associated with women. RCFs urged women to eschew the masculine characteristics, including assertiveness, aggressiveness and hardiness, ability to control emotions celebrate their natural identity and behaviour linked with femininity, including gentleness modesty, humility, empathy, unselfishness, sensitivity, and compassionateness. Women should to discover within themselves what Mary Daly [1978] termed the "wild female", who dwells beyond the constructs of femininity and masculinity conceived by patriarchal society.

**2. REPRODUCTION AND MOTHERHOOD:** Radical-cultural feminists argue that natural reproduction/ motherhood should be revered as a tool of feminist empowerment. While radical-libertarian feminists emphasize its emancipating potential, radical-cultural feminists resist technological intervention in the reproductive process. Instead of hoping for the day when technology will aid women in their liberation, women should embrace their reproductive ability. RCFs consider natural reproduction as a woman's main source of power, and
• rejection of pornography

**something unavailable to men.** To take this power from a woman and put it in the hands of doctors and scientists via reproductive technologies is to strip women of their power and to continue to make them vulnerable to men's power. According to this group, the discarding of the natural reproductive process would not liberate women, but simply further their oppression. **Radical-cultural feminists theorize that women's oppression is not caused by female biology and reproductive possibilities but rather by men's jealousy of women's reproductive abilities and their desire to control them through new reproductive technologies.** Motherhood is not a hindrance, but a power within the home. Tong illustrates the power of parenting as being unjustly reserved for the patriarch of the family; many mothers succumb to the ancient adage "father knows best". Tong puts forth the perils of this adage, and stresses that in order for women to feel empowered by their sense of motherhood, they must take control of the parental role; "there is a world of difference between women's deciding who, how, when, and where to mother and men's making these decisions for them". If men create technology that voids the need for women to bare children, then women's oppression will not be reduced, but become more explicit and worse for them. **Atwood counters Piercy's utopia with the anti-utopia seen in A Handmaid's Tale.** Radical-cultural feminists point to men's already usurping women's reproductive powers via male doctor's replacing female midwifes in birth and the creation of technology which allows surrogate mothers and ex vitrio fertilization. These feminists advised women not to use reproduction-controlling or reproduction-assisting technologies, but to rely instead on their "natural" abilities to give or deny life. Women, they said, must guard their reproductive powers jealously, for without them men will have even less respect and use for women than they have now.

**3. PORNOGRAPHY:** Many RCFs vehemently oppose pornography, seeing it as part and parcel of the patriarchal system of oppression. Heterosexual relations within a patriarchal society are about male domination and female subordination, and they set the stage for pornography, prostitution, rape, sexual harassment, and woman-battering. Thus, according to radical-cultural feminists, the key to women's liberation is to eliminate all patriarchal institutions and sexual practices in which sexual objectifications occur.

## RADICAL-DOMINANCE FEMINISM

According to these feminists, gender equality consists in women disconnecting as much as possible from men, and in looking to themselves rather than to men for their self-definition, self-esteem, and self-respect.

Radfems are skeptical of the long-term viability of seeking change within the system, but that hasn't prevented them from working within the system, as in the case of sexual harassment laws, or from trying to work within the system, as in the case of the MacKinnon/Dworkin antipornography ordinance. Arguably, radfems see working in the system less as a route for seeking social reform than as band-aid measures; laws against stalking or sexual harassment are needed because they provide some protection to women, but laws can't really do much to fight male supremacy in the long run.

**The notion that all women share an experience of oppression is intimately connected with a strong emphasis on "sisterhood" in radical feminism.** The family is seen as a key instrument of the oppression of women, through sexual and maternal obligation, as is male control of women's bodies. According to radical feminism, women, having become used to such oppression, also perpetuate men's control of women's bodies themselves. Radical feminists have cited cultural practices ranging from Chinese foot binding to wearing Wonderbras as examples of female collusion with patriarchal oppression.

Radical feminism assumes that the very structures themselves have been so poisoned by patriarchy that they cannot be transformed but must be completely eradicated and rebuilt from the

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ground up. For example, many radical feminists believe that the entire economic system—capitalism—which they argue has been built fundamentally on the exploitation of women must be destroyed and replaced with an alternative economic system; most radical feminists favour some version of socialism.

**Guerrilla Girls** are an anonymous group of feminist, female artists devoted to fighting sexism and racism within the art world. The group formed in New York City in 1985 with the mission of bringing gender and racial inequality within the fine arts into focus within the greater community. Members are known for the gorilla masks they wear to remain anonymous. Guerrilla Girls were formed by seven women artists in the spring of 1985 in response to the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition "An International Survey of Recent Painting and Sculpture", which opened in 1984. In total, the show featured works by 169 artists, of whom only 13 were female. The most famous of the protest posters, from 1989, is that of a female nude overlaid with a gorilla mask and the slogan "Do women have to be naked to get into the Metropolitan Museum?", protesting the fact that 5% of the works were by female artists, and 85% of the nudes were female.

ACHIEVEMENTS: While women have made strides, they still fall behind men in important measures. They are still underrepresented in Congress, and overrepresented in what have traditionally been considered "women's" professions (such as teachers or secretaries). Despite this, many American women achieved many political firsts in the 2000s. In 2007, Nancy Pelosi became the first female Speaker of the House of Representatives. In 2008, Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton became the first woman to win a presidential primary, winning the New Hampshire Democratic primary. In 2008, Alaska governor Sarah Palin became the first woman nominated for Vice President by the Republican Party. In 2009 and 2010, respectively, Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan were confirmed as Supreme Court Associate Justices, making them the third and fourth female justices.

# Difference between Liberal Feminism and Radical Feminism

①While liberal feminists want equality for both women and men, radical feminists focus on women. ②While liberal feminists desire to reform the existing system, radical feminists want to overthrow the existing system of patriarchy ③While liberal feminists consider women to enter into the existing system on an equal footing with men, radical feminists are apprehensive of any significant change by such an inclusion ④For liberal feminists, the emphasis is on the public sphere; for radfems, the focus is on both the private and public spheres. Both liberal feminism and radical feminism maintain that women are and have been oppressed by men, that the oppression was and is unjustified, and that steps should be taken to rectify the oppression that presently exists. This is what makes them feminists. Radical feminists go further than liberal feminists in two ways: first, in their analysis of the roots of oppression [the descriptive difference]; and second, in their proposals for change [the prescriptive difference]. Liberal feminists see oppression as an irrational encrustation on the surface of society. Men and women, they believe, have a common rational nature and are equally capable of performing the various private and public functions of social life. Laws and customs that segregate men and women into different occupations, or enforce sex roles, or both, are seen as the problem to be solved. The liberal solution is to change such laws and repeal such customs. Historically, liberal feminism has been concerned to grant women legal rights to be educated, to vote, to enter previously male-only occupations, and to own and transfer property. It has also striven to change the laws of marriage that subject wives to their husbands. Liberal feminism concentrates on the reformist, liberal pursuit of widening and consolidating the legal rights of women in the political and economic spheres. Liberal feminists accept the public sphere as it is and seeks to bring women into it on the same terms as men. Radical feminists do not reject these practical objectives; rather, they see them as an essential first step.

toward true sexual equality and justice. Nevertheless, radical feminists question the liberal distinction between public and private, insisting that all aspects of human life, even those that occur "behind closed doors", be evaluated in terms of whether they support or undermine the existing inegalitarian social framework. **The personal is political.** Personal problems are political problems. Radical feminists, unlike liberal feminists, do not automatically accept the attitudes, values and beliefs that they find in society, for these phenomena may themselves be the outcome of the oppressive social structure. Inequality, in other words, may be institutionalized. To the radical feminists, every practice, institution, law, and person is tainted by sexism, which pervades society. Thus, while radical feminists join liberal feminists in advocating repeal of laws that limit women's liberty or legal powers or treat them as inferior to men, they, unlike liberal feminists, are not simply content with equal opportunity under the law and equal access to social life. In a society permeated by sexism, distorted by power relations, and tarnished by centuries of oppression by men, equal opportunity for women under the law is not enough. Radical feminists want to change attitudes as well as laws, values as well as customs, beliefs as well as behavior. Changing human laws represents one feat; changing "the hearts of men" is another important task, which requires a different set of skills and strategies. Radical feminists want to get at the root of women's oppression, thereby killing its toxic fruit.

**According to Annas:** "The radical approach will have little use for reform of the existing system; to a radical, this would be merely futile, enabling a few women to get ahead by adopting male values, but doing nothing for the mass of women whose natures have been systematically thwarted. What is required is a radical change in the whole framework of society's attitudes to the relations between the sexes."

# Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminism views capitalism rather than patriarchy as the fundamental cause of women's oppression, subordination and exploitation. Marxist feminism argues that capitalism is the root cause of women's oppression, and that discrimination against women in domestic life and employment is an effect of capitalist ideologies. Marxfems tend to see class oppression----the ongoing battle over who does the producing and who reaps the rewards of production----as the root oppression on which all other oppressions are modeled. Sexist oppression is a form of class oppression.

Early Marxist feminists like **Rowbotham [1973]** argued that patriarchy operated within the capitalist economic system. Adopting the traditional Marxist view that society is structured as a class system, some Marxist feminists view women as a "sex-class". But others have argued that it is inaccurate to characterize women as a class and that women are better thought of as an oppressed sex. Marxist feminists also question the patriarchal system of marriage that views women as male property.

Traditional Marxists associate women's oppression with the capitalist system, increasing industrialization, and the rise of private property. Marxist feminists agree with radical feminists that women are subordinate to men. But they attribute this to the capitalist system of private property, rather than to the sex/gender system itself. For Marxist feminists, class oppression is the primary form of oppression; "sexism has its roots in the private property system". Marxist feminists argue that women's role in the family benefits capitalism in 3 basic ways:

- women perform "domestic labour on an unpaid basis", and "provide care" for the current generation of workers.
- women also "reproduce and socialize" the next generation of workers.
- women "consume" the goods and services produced by capitalism.

**Margaret Benston's "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation"** [1969] exemplifies a classic second-wave Marxist feminist approach. Benston contrasts work inside and outside of the home. In factories, workers work together in a highly specialized division of labour. By contrast, housewives labour in relative isolation, which makes them more difficult to politically organize. In a nonspecialized domestic labour a woman is expected to be a Jill of all trades—cook, cleaner, nurse, and nanny——but a recognized expert at none. In turn, because there are no set hours, woman qua housewife is expected to be on call at any hour, day or night, for sick family members or hungry infants. Work outside of the home is what Marx termed **"production for exchange"**: the production of goods and services which is done for sale in the market to earn profit. By contrast, housework and childcare by housewife are forms of **"production for use"**, Production for self-consumption if the producers themselves consume the entire output they produce. Thus, production for use is unpaid labour and provides no basis for woman's economic independence. Even for women employed outside of the home, having major responsibility for housework and childcare inhibits, interrupts, and reduces the attention and time they can give to their jobs, thus placing them on an unequal playing field relative to men in terms of earning power.

What distinguishes Benston's work as a Marxist feminist analysis is the way she describes "unpaid domestic labour as primarily serving the capitalist class". Rather than highlighting how it serves all men, she emphasizes how it serves the capitalist class, such as providing a reserve labour force that could be called on in times of labour shortages or wars and keeping wages low because housework and child care are unpaid labour. According to Inman, housewives in working-class families do not work simply for their husbands and children, but for capitalists who pay them through their husbands' wages [the so-called family wage].

**"In so far as these housewives are producing the day-to-day supply of labour-power of adult workers, they are working for specific capitalists: their husbands' employers. But in homes where there are children, the housewife is, in their work of raising children, the future productive workers, working for the capitalist class."** [Inman 1964]

A major problem that Marxist feminists confront is that Marx himself was not particularly concerned with the position of women in a capitalist society. Although he uses abstract categories such as "labour power", he assumed a male waged labour force. He also adopted a naturalistic approach to the family, maintaining that women should provide care in the domestic sphere. The paid labour of women and children was seen by Marx as a threat to male workers——women and children, he argued, were used by capitalists to reduce the costs of production. Cheap female labour was used to replace more expensive male labour. Marx did not challenge the practice of paying women less than men. Marxist feminists want to retain the Marxist analysis of capitalist societies, integrating into it an explanation for the subordination of women. According to the Marxist feminist view, men and women were economic equals during the hunting and gathering stage of development, each controlling their own labour and producing needed subsistence. As society evolved to agricultural and industrial modes of production, private property developed and men gained control of the modes of production, while women remained in the home to bear and care for children. Male domination was furthered by inheritance laws that ensured that ownership would remain in their hands. As industrialization continued and the production of goods and services moved away from the home, the male-female gaps continued to grow——women had less education, lower incomes, and fewer occupational skills and were rarely owners. Thus, women's position was/is a form of oppression that serves the interests of capitalism.

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Marxist feminism predominated in the US in the late 1960s. Like radical feminists, Marxist feminists believed that traditional institutions needed to be radically restructured. The institution most in need of change was, of course, the economy. Marxist feminists spearheaded the "Housework for Wages" campaign, highlighting the fact that the economy depends upon women's unpaid domestic labour. Marxist feminism subsumes questions about women and sexual oppression under a critique of capitalism and economic oppression. Thus Marxist feminists take into account the patriarchal relationships in societies that are only connected with capitalism.

# Socialist Feminism

*[handwritten note: • patriarchy and capitalism are both responsible for the oppression of women.]*

The term "socialist feminism" was first used in the 1970s in a pamphlet by the Chicago Women's Liberation Union in a pamphlet titled "Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement." The central idea of socialist feminism is that patriarchy and capitalism are overlapping and interlocking systems of oppression. The sexual division of labour, through which men dominate the public sphere while women are customarily confined to the private sphere, has served the economic interests of capitalism in a number of ways. Women, for socialist feminists, constitute a 'reserve army of labour', which can be recruited into the workforce when there is a need for increased production, but fired and returned to domestic life during an economic depression. In bearing and rearing children, women are producing the next generation of capitalist workers. Similarly, in their role as housewives, women relieve men of the burden of housework and child-rearing, allowing them to concentrate their time and energy on employment.

While Marxist feminism asserts the primacy of class oppression over gender oppression, socialist feminism emphasizes the coexistence of both in explaining the subordination of women. When Marxist feminists speak about women's oppression, they argue that capital is the primary oppressor of women as workers and that men are, at most, the secondary oppressors of women as women. According to Jaggar, Marxist feminists rarely discuss issues related to sex, and even when they do, they link sex with capital, for instance, the husband-wife relation or the pimp-prostitute relation is linked in the same way as in the employer-employee or bourgeoisie-proletariat relationship. However, according to Jaggar, exploited workers do not suffer in the same way as do oppressed wives or prostitutes.

According to Marxist ideology, the difference between a wife and a prostitute is merely a difference of degree not of kind. Both sell themselves, their sexual services, and, in case of a wife, their nurturing and domestic services, for economic livelihood. In the "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" Marx says: "Prostitution is only a specific expression of the general prostitution of the labourer". Thus it states that prostitution is a class phenomenon. So, under capitalism, a woman's sexuality becomes a commodity. Inequalities of wealth, then, are the cause of prostitution, just as they are of wage labour. Thus, to fight capitalism is also to fight prostitution; the elimination of capitalism is imperative for women's liberation. But, ask would simply ending capitalism end women's oppression. Rape, sexual harassment, domestic abuse would still be there. As Jaggar saw it, ending capitalism cannot wholly eliminate gender oppression. Thus, socialist feminists focus both on capitalism and patriarchy.

Whereas Marxist feminists argue that patriarchy serves capitalism, socialist feminists assert that Marxism and feminism can be brought together. Socialist feminism combines the study of class with the analysis of gender. Marxist feminists tend to identify themselves as Marxists first, and then as feminists. Conversely, socialist feminists see themselves as feminists first, and socialists second. Socialist feminists are influenced by the Marxist critiques of capitalism, but argue that women are oppressed not only because they occupy a subordinate economic class but

*[handwritten notes at bottom:]*
• Influence of Marxist & Radical feminism
   economy ↓        sex ↓
Remarkable names.
• Heidi-Hartmann
• Inman

also because they are women. Socialist feminists argue that patriarchy [male domination] is just as oppressive as capitalism. The patriarchal exploitation of women includes examples of rape, sexual harassment, and domestic violence. Pornography and sex industries are challenged, like radical-cultural feminists, as women exploitation for male pleasure. In other words, women are exploited both economically and sexually. Socialist feminism is, thus, a confluence of Marxist and radical feminism; hence it is a dual systems theory. Socialist feminists integrate the Marxist feminist focus on the economy with the radical feminist focus on sex.

Socialist feminists do not only focus on sex oppression under capitalism like Marxist feminists do. Nor do socialist feminists privilege sex and gender to the exclusion of economic concerns. Socialist feminists believe that both Marxist and feminist analyses are necessary to overcome women's oppression. Though capitalism and patriarchy are distinct systems, they both interact to oppress women, and allow men to maintain power by: [1] wage differentials, by segregation at work, by the concept of a family wage (capitalism); [2] by assigning women to the domestic sphere and appropriating her domestic labour (patriarchy). Patriarchy, the hierarchical relation between women and men in which men are dominant and women are subordinate, predates capitalism. Women's oppression cannot simply be explained by class relations [Marxist feminism] or by men's power over women [Radical feminism]. Socialist feminism provides a more comprehensive explanation that incorporates both of these areas.

The goal of socialist feminism, according to Jaggar, is to abolish the social relations that constitute humans not only as workers and capitalists but also as women and men. The ideal of social feminism is that women and men will disappear as socially constructed categories [that is patriarchal system disappears].

HARTMANN: THEORY OF "CAPITALIST-PATRIARCHY": In the socialist feminist Heidi Hartmann's classic article, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union" [1979], she used the term "unhappy marriage" to criticize how Marxism [like the husband] dominated feminism [the wife] because class ignored gender in Marxist feminists' understanding of women's oppression. Hartmann argued for a more healthy and progressive union in the "unhappy marriage" between Marxism and feminism. Criticizing Marxist feminists, Hartmann argues that capitalists are not the only beneficiaries of women's relegation to domestic labour; rather, "all men" are beneficiaries---including working-class men. For Marxists to ignore these gender realities is to be gender- blind. In order to understand the subordination of women in capitalist societies, Hartmann suggests, it is necessary to articulate Marxism with a critique of patriarchy. Hartmann's theory of "capitalist-patriarchy" gives gender and class equal importance. It requires that two spheres of social life be examined: the sphere of production [the basis of capitalist domination] and the sphere of the reproduction [the basis of patriarchal domination]. Hartmann accused Marxism as sex-blind because of its focus on the sphere of production, and ignorance of women's important role in the "social reproduction of labour". The term "social reproduction of labour" means that not only a woman gives birth to a child for future labour power, she is also involved as a mother and a wife in rearing the child and looking after her husband for his energy renewal. Thus the term refers to both the intergenerational reproduction of labour power and the daily reproduction of labour power. Although Marx had examined the sphere of production in detail, socialist feminists demanded that both spheres be examined to reveal the integral relationship between capitalism and patriarchy.

According to Hartmann, the woman question under Marxism has never been "the feminist question". The feminist question is directed at the causes of sexual inequality between women and men, of male dominance over women. While Marxist feminists continue to give primacy to class

*separate from each other*

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analysis, socialist feminists focus on both the relationship of women to the economic system as well as the relationship of women to men. The focus of Marxist analysis has been class relations.

In "Woman's Defense" [1940], Inman also highlights women's role in the social reproduction of labour power. Her later pamphlets "Woman Power" [1942] and "The Two Forms of Production under Capitalism [1964] also address Hartmann's critique of Marxism.

Like radical feminists, socialist feminists are concerned with issues of sexuality and the body, such as reproductive issues as well as issues regarding violence against women. But they see these issues, and patriarchy, entwined with economic issues. Socialist feminists think that traditional economic and social institutions need to be transformed: the family and the capitalist system. Socialist feminists call for a change in the sexual division of labour, that takes place both within the home and in the public sector. In the domestic sphere, the sexual division of labour includes reproductive work such as bearing and rearing children, and other household tasks, such as shopping, cooking, and cleaning. In the public sphere, the sexual division of labour includes divisions along traditional gender lines, such as more men in manual labour jobs that require heavy lifting, and more women in the service sector and in secretarial office work, the low-prestige, low-wage pink-collar jobs. Even those women in higher-paying jobs are often victimized by a "glass ceiling": an invisible barrier to women's promotion to top positions. The sexual division of labour creates and reinforces gender differences. These gender differences are perpetuated through a multitude of social relations: traditional family arrangements, including women as prime caretakers of children; women's economic dependence on men. Socialist feminists desire a change in these social relations. They are thus against capitalism and patriarchy. Socialist feminism argues that sexism and capitalism are mutually supportive. Sexism means male domination because of sex. Such attitudes often result in prejudice and discrimination at both the individual and institutional levels. Institutional discrimination, that is, discrimination built into the fabric of society, is exemplified by the difficulty many women experience in finding employment.

In her Dictionary of Feminist Theory, Maggie Hume says "Unlike radical feminism, socialist feminists refuse to treat economic oppression as secondary; unlike Marxist feminists they refuse to treat sexist oppression as secondary."

# Psychoanalytical Feminism

*• Based on Sigmund Freud theory*
*• Psyche is involved (unconscious)*

"The greater part of the feminist movement," wrote Juliet Mitchell in her pioneering book "Psychoanalysis and Feminism" [1974], "has identified Freud as the enemy, but a rejection of psychoanalysis and of Freud's work is fatal for feminism."

*To defeat / gain control*

All feminist theories are interested in getting at the causes and solutions of women's oppression. Psychoanalytic feminism sees the answer in the psyche [mind]. Psychoanalytic feminism is a theory of oppression, which asserts that men have an inherent psychological need to subjugate women. The root of men's compulsion to dominate women and women's minimal resistance to subjugation lies deep within the human psyche.

*to conquer*

Psychoanalytic feminism is based on Freud and Lacan's theories of psychoanalysis. Sigmund Freud [1856-1939] was the founder of psychoanalysis. Freud claimed that "anatomy is destiny," by which he meant that biology, particularly the genitals, determines with which partner a child will identify and, thus, how the child's psyche will develop. Psychoanalysis is the theory of personality that stresses the influence of unconscious mental

*• Simon de Beauvoir criticises the Freud theory.*
*Juliet Mitchell defended [47] Freud.*
*• Lacan, French Psychoanalyst.*
*• Chodorow* www.CSSExamPoint.com

processes, the importance of sexual and aggressive instincts, and the enduring effects of early childhood experiences on personality. Freud believed that conscious experience is just the tip of our psychological makeup and experience. In fact, he thought much of our behaviour is motivated by the unconscious, a part of the personality of which a person is not aware. Like the unseen mass of a floating iceberg, the memories, knowledge, beliefs, and feelings in the unconscious tremendously surpass in quantity the information about which we are aware. Thus, to understand personality, it is necessary to expose what is in the unconscious.

According to Freud, "Phallic stage" of the personality of a child begins around age 3. In this stage, a child's pleasure focuses on the genitals. This is also the stage of the "Oedipal conflict", according to Freud. The male unconsciously begins to develop a sexual interest in his mother, starts to see his father as a rival, and harbours a wish to kill his father, as Oedipus did in the ancient Greek myth. [Abandoned at birth, Oedipus does not know the identity of his parents. As an adult, Oedipus unknowingly kills his father and marries his mother.] But because the boy child views his father as more physically powerful, he develops a fear that his father may retaliate drastically by castrating him. The fear of losing one's penis leads to "castration anxiety". To resolve the "Oedipus complex" and these anxieties, the little boy ultimately joins forces with his former enemy by resorting to the defense mechanism of "Identification":  the process of wanting to be like another person as much as possible, imitating that person's behaviour and adopting similar beliefs and values. By identifying with his father, a son seeks to obtain a woman like his unattainable mother. That is, he imitates and internalizes his father's values, attitudes, and norms.

Girls also ultimately resolve the Electra complex by identifying with the *same-sex parent*. For girls, the process is different. Freud reasoned that girls begin to experience sexual arousal toward their fathers and begin to experience "penis envy". They wish they had a penis like other little boys. Blaming their mothers for their lack of a penis, girls come to believe that their mothers are responsible for their "castration". However, in an attempt to take her mother's place with her father, she also "identifies" with her mother. Like the little boy, the little girl internalizes the attributes of the same-sex parent.

**COMMENTS AGAINST FREUD'S PSYCHOANALYSIS:** Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis according to many feminists, reflects a sexist view of women. Because of penis envy and an innate sense of inferiority, Freud claimed, women are more masochistic and jealous than men. This assertion, according to **Jackson,** is unfounded: there is no reason to assume that little girls evaluate themselves negatively on encountering the penis, let alone that penis envy develops to the obsessive proportions Freud gives it. In making this leap, Freud is in fact imposing his own meanings upon children's behaviour. Simone de Beauvoir argues that Freud's theory makes little effort to study female psychosexual development in itself. She argues that while for little boys who obtain a living experience from their penis, the penis may be a source of pride, little girls are often only dimly aware of the male genitalia, and thus there is no necessary corollary that they should be humiliated by its absence in them. Further, she argues that Freud's generalisation of the male Oedipus and female Electra complexes (i.e. that a boy's affection for his mother and a girl's for her father during their development have a distinctly genital aspect) is spurious and without foundation, particularly in the case of girls.

Is the repressed unconscious the key to unlocking women oppression? The question is at the heart of the feminist debate over Freud. Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Germaine Greer and Kate Millet have given an answer in the negative. Freud's psychoanalysis was seen as legitimating woman's social subordination. Woman, according to Freud, is nothing more than a morally, intellectually, and physically castrated version of man. Ernest Jones was the first to dub Freud's theory 'phallocentric', a term signifying male domination. Mitchell, however, in Psychoanalysis and Feminism [1974], defended Freud, arguing that "psychoanalysis

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is not a recommendation *for* a patriarchal society but an analysis *of one*". Freud, she believes, is describing the mental representation of a social reality, not reality itself. Mitchell's bold claim in 1974 that "a rejection of psychoanalysis and of Freud's works is fatal for feminism" signaled the change.

Psychoanalytic feminism seeks to gain insight into the ways our psychic lives develop, in order to understand and eliminate women's oppression. The basic foundation of psychoanalytic feminism asserts that men have an inherent psychological need to suppress women. **From this perspective, the root of men's impulse to dominate women and women's minimal resistance to subjugation lies deep within the human psyche. This creates a pattern of oppression that is integrated into society, producing and sustaining patriarchy.** Societal change, or a "cure", can be developed through discovering the source of domination in men's psyche and subordination in women's which largely rests unrecognized in an individual's unconscious. Psychoanalytic feminism asserts that through the use of psychoanalytical techniques aimed at examining how gender is constructed, it is possible to alter socialization patterns at the early stages of childhood, primarily before the age of 3. Psychoanalytic feminists focus on exploring childhood development, viewing the initial years of life as solidifying our beliefs and practices connected to gender. They examine how gender is understood and the ways it operates on individual, familial, and societal levels.

Lacan, the French psychoanalyst, developed Freud's theory and positioned the phallus as a symbolic marker of power. While the Freudian theory of castration complex seems to attribute a natural superiority to the male sexual organ and to derive female sexuality and femininity in general from women's lack of penis, for Lacan, anatomy does not explain women's social disempowerment. While Freud confirmed biological determinism by stating that sex and thereby gender is an anatomically determined destiny, Lacan presented a critical understanding of gender as constructed rather than biologically determined.

It is believed by psychoanalyst feminists that if men took a more active, personal role in child rearing, a transformation would occur in our understandings of masculinity and femininity. This would also create changes in gender construction, diminishing men's domination over women and women's subordination, and increasing women's independence. Chodorow, in particular, is convinced that mothers dominate child-rearing and that this is the source of many problems in the emotional make-up of the individual, and has argued for more fathers to become deeply involved in childcare.

Psychoanalytic feminists assert that the roots of women's oppression embedded deep in the emotional psyche. In **Psychoanalysis and Feminism**, Juliet Mitchell, for example, emphasizes that in order for women to free themselves, an "interior" revolution is necessary. This is not to deny the reality of social, economic and legal disadvantages that every woman faces, but "she must do more than fight for her rights as a citizen, she must also probe the depths of her psyche." In a sense, Mitchell sees women as colluding with men; they allow men to be dominant. Therefore, women need to challenge their own oppression. **While liberal or socialist feminists emphasize the importance of social factors or the struggle for legal rights and equal access to public life, the** psychoanalytic approach emphasizes internal and emotional issues, **and indicates the sense in which women do have some power to bring about change.**

# Postmodern Feminism

Postmodern feminism, as the name suggests, derives its intellectual inspiration from postmodernism.

**NOTHING UNIVERSAL:** A central idea of postmodernism is that there is no single, objective reality. Objective reality does not exist. Thus, there is nothing objective or universal. Postmodern feminism tends to reject the claim that there is a single theory that can explain the position of women in society. It encourages the acceptance of many different points of view as equally valid. Postmodern feminists do not believe in a single theory or a single 'truth,' and are particularly opposed to creation of any grand theory.

**NO UNIVERSAL FORM OF WOMAN:** Postmodern feminists reject the claim that there is any single, universal essence or category of woman. Different groups of women [for example, black women, white middle-class women, lesbian women] are different. Consequently, these feminists reject the accounts given by others to explain gender inequality as 'essentialist': Postmodern feminism challenges the idea that there is a unitary basis of identity and experience shared by all women. Postmodern feminism dissolves the possibility that women speak in a unified voice or that they can be universally addressed. Race, class, nationality, sexual orientation, and other factors prevent such unity and universality. Although one woman may share certain characteristics and experiences with other woman because of her biological sex, her particular race, class compared with other women, along with the construction of gender that her country and society give to someone living in her historical period, her experience cannot be universalized for women in general. There is no universal form of woman. The **recognition of difference** [of sexuality, race and age] is central to postmodern feminism. Thus the contention of postmodern feminists is that there is no single basis for women's subordination and no single method of dealing with the issues.

**DECONSTRUCTION:** Moreover, postmodern feminists have stressed the importance of "deconstruction". In particular, they have sought to deconstruct male language and a masculine view of the world based on language. The largest departure from other branches of feminism is the argument that gender is constructed through language. For example, Helene Cixous, the French novelist and feminist, believes language is male-dominated, or, as she terms it, phallocentric. Its form is masculine. Both how things are said and what is said reflect masculinity and male sexuality. Like Derrida, Cixous believes that male thought and language can be seen as phallic. Like Cixous, Helen Haste [1993] also attaches great importance to the role of language and to the existence of dualisms. Men see the world in terms of pairs or binary distinctions [good versus bad; right versus wrong; beautiful versus ugly]. Men, argue the postmodern feminists, have cast the male as normal, and female as the deviation from it. The founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, for example, saw women as men who lacked a penis and argued that envied males for possessing one. In this masculine world-view, the female is always cast as the **"Other"**. Deconstruction involves attacking binary concepts. Postmodernists, through deconstruction, want to look at every accepted idea with new lenses. They challenge accepted concepts. Deconstructivism tries to refute the meta-narratives [accounts or views that claim to have discovered the truth]. Postmodern feminists, following Lacan, are interested in reinterpreting traditional Freudian psychoanalysis, with all its implications for biological determinism and subordination of women. Postmodern feminist oppose any essentialism and deny that categorical, abstract theories derived through reason and assumptions about human nature can serve as the foundation of knowledge.

**QUEER THEORY AND POSTMODERN FEMINISM:** Queer theory disrupts the heteronormative assumptions [assumptions based on conventional understandings of gender and heterosexuality]. Queer theory [discussed earlier] takes into account all of the **marginalized sexual identities** that exist and gives permission for them to be **acknowledged as a legitimate alternative to traditional sexual identities.** Queer theory rejects the idea of sexuality as a stable concept and of heterosexuality as a norm. This destabilization of sexual identity places queer theory in the tradition of postmodern theories and deconstructionism. Queer theory underscores the idea that sexual identity is fluid.

Postmodern feminism is not a theory in the sense that it does not provide a specific framework for understanding oppression. Instead, it provides a model for *questioning* the value of various theories. Postmodern feminists do not offer any single solution to the oppression of women, first because they don't believe there is a single solution to anything, and second because to propose the solution would suggest that all women's experiences are alike and that women's oppression is a unitary thing. They believe that attacking oppression of women requires contextual judgment in accordance with particular human experience. The main objection to postmodern feminism, particularly to those views associated with deconstruction, has been that it tends to be better in destroying theories than building them, which many see as not useful to feminism in the long run.

# Feminism in International Politics

Radical feminists have argued that patriarchy operates in, and through, the state, meaning that the state is in fact a patriarchal state. The "instrumental" approach views the state as little more than an 'agent' or 'tool' used by men to defend their interests and uphold the structures of patriarchy. This line of argument draws on the core feminists' belief that patriarchy is upheld by the division of society into distinct private and public spheres of life. The subordination of women has traditionally been accomplished through their confinement to a private sphere of family and domestic responsibilities, turning them into housewives and mothers, and through their exclusion from a public realm centred on politics and economy. Thus, the state is run *by* men *for* men. Whereas instrumentalist arguments focus on the personnel of the state, and particularly the state elite, "structuralist" arguments tend to emphasize the degree to which state institutions are embedded in a wider patriarchal system. Thus, the gendered character of the state is not only significant in consolidating the internal structures of male power, but also in shaping the external behaviour of states and thus the structure of the international system. Here, patriarchy dictates that states will be competitive and aggressive, reflecting the characteristics of a male society. A patriarchal state-system is thus one that is prone to conflict and war. Moreover, nationalism is also gendered. Women have been used to symbolize the cultural heritage of an ethnic, religious, or national group. Nation is commonly depicted in gendered terms, as a 'motherland'. The notion that women embody the symbolic values of chastity and motherhood can mean that aggressive forms of nationalism target women through rape and other forms of sexual violence. The honour of men [as protectors of women] and the moral integrity of the nation is best destroyed through physical attacks on the honour of women. Incidents of gendered violence have occurred, for example, in Bosnia in the 1990s as well as in the anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat, India, in 2002.

For feminists, war is closely associated with masculinity. The dominance of men in senior positions in political and military life may mean that decisions about war and peace are made by people whose world-view acknowledges that armed conflict is an inevitable feature of world politics. This stems from a tendency amongst men to see the world in terms of conflict, rivalry and competition, whether this arises from the influence of masculine gender stereotypes or from

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biologically-based drives. As women are less warlike than men, having a greater inclination towards cooperation, consensus-building and the use of non-confrontational strategies, the increased representation of women on positions of political and military leadership can be expected to lead to a reduced use of force in world affairs. This, indeed, may lead to a feminist alternative to the "democratic peace" thesis, favored by liberalism, which would assert that democratic societies with gender equality are more peaceful. A matriarchal society would, from this perspective, certainly be more peaceful than a patriarchal one.

**MILITARIZED MASCULINITY:** Men are more warlike than women because of social conditioning, not biology. Self-assertion, competition and fighting are seen as 'natural' for boys, helping to preparing them for the 'public' sphere in general and also, if necessary, for military life. Girls, by contrast, are encouraged to be cooperative and submissive, preparing them for a 'private' sphere of domestic work. Masculinity and war are therefore mutually reinforcing social constructs. As women and children now account for the vast majority of the casualties of armed conflict as in Syria and Iraq, suffering not just death but also rape, sexual attack, humiliation and displacement, women have a particular interest in the avoidance of war. Those against this view say that women also fight as demonstrated by female terrorists and guerrilla fighters. According to them, women leaders like Thatcher and Indira Gandhi have also adopted 'manly' approaches to foreign policy, while male leaders like Martin Luther King and Willy Brandt have embraced strategies of non-violence and conciliation. These critics assert that aggressive behaviour may have more to do with authority than gender. Male leaders may appear to have a greater propensity for militarism and expansionism, but this only reflects the fact that most political leaders have been male. War, according to neo-realists, is due to the fact that there is no world government, and so every state tries to increase its power to make it secure. Foreign policy has thus nothing to do with gender relations.

# Chapter 4

# Gender, Globalization and Development

## Objectives

- Understand why Boserup presented her new approach, later called WID, regarding women's integration in the process of development in the wake of modernization theory.
- Know why WAD approach criticized the WID approach, and understand the neo-Marxist theories: dependency theory and world systems theory.
- Grasp 'gender mainstreaming' and the Gender and Development approach and understand how it differed from the WID approach.
- Understand the impact of globalization on women and whether IMF's structural adjustment programmes were able to ameliorate the impoverished condition of the poor countries and women.

> 🏛 Women are half the world's people; perform two-thirds of the world's working hours; receive one-tenth of the world's income; and own only one-hundredth of the world's property. United Nations

# Introduction

A WOMAN'S 3 ROLES BY MOSER: [1] **Reproductive Role:** the care of household and its members including bearing and caring for children, preparing food, collecting water and fuel(like wood), shopping, housekeeping, and family health-care. Such reproductive work extends beyond biological reproduction to include those domestic tasks necessary to maintain and reproduce labour force for a society. While child-bearing is a biological function unique to women, there is no particular reason or logic as to why child-rearing and nurturing, and caring for family, should be women's work. [2] **Productive Role:** the production of goods and services for consumption and trade (agriculture; basket-making; pickle-making); it is often less visible and less valued than men's. Productive work can be "market-based production" which results in earning of money and which is dominated by men or it can be subsistence/home-based production which generates an in-kind rather than a monetary value. [3] **Community Role:** organizing social events such as ceremonies; participation in groups, organizations, local politics, voluntary teaching at a local school, and so on.

PRACTICAL NEEDS & STRATEGIC NEEDS: Moser distinguishes between "Practical Needs" [immediate] of women that require *"urgent"* attention [such as unemployment, health services, and clean water] and women's more "Strategic Needs" ["long-term and transformative"], which must be met to change their subordinate status in society [such as legal rights; gender-based division of labour; and domestic violence]. Practical needs include the need for a well, food-processing technology, income-generating activities. The meeting of practical needs does not seek to change the gendered status quo. Strategic needs, on the other hand, derive from an analysis of women's subordination and the desire to change this. These needs include: the transformation of the sexual division of labour; the establishment of political equality; the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as the absence of the right to own property; freedom of choice over childbearing; access to credit; and the struggle against male violence. Strategic needs are about resolving gender-based inequalities. A girl's practical need for an education can be addressed in a strategic way if that education includes a rights-based curriculum that expands her horizons and enables her to consider a life different from one that is predetermined by her gender. In other words, strategic needs refer to changing those factors which oppress women because they are women. Practical needs are the needs that women have because of their current social position. Strategic needs are the ones which are required to change and improve the social position of women. Some projects are meant to provide practical needs; they work within the existing gender relations, and do not question or seek to change them. For example, when women are taught to make better and nourishing meals, this mainly addresses a practical need, and reinforces the fact that women are responsible for meals and for family health without challenging those responsibilities. But when a project tries to bring about greater control over family's income, this is an effort to strengthen women's social position and address a strategic need. Practical needs of women may include needs associated with their roles as caretakers, needs for food, shelter, water and safety. Strategic needs, however, are needs for more control over their lives, needs for property rights, for political participation to help shape public decisions and for a safe space for women outside the household, for example women's shelters offering protection from domestic violence. A woman's practical need for health care can be **addressed in a strategic way if it includes access to services giving her greater control** over her reproductive decisions.

DIFFERENT NEEDS AND PRIORITIES FOR TRANSPORT: In one village, while women preferred the road under discussion to be constructed in one direction to facilitate their access to the nearest village with basic services, men preferred that the road be built in the opposite direction to enable them to reach the larger town and market easily on horseback.

# Women in Development [WID]

**MODERNIZATION AND TRICKLE-DOWN MODEL:** During the 1950s and 1960s modernization, that is economic development due to industrialization, was thought to improve the standards of living of the developing countries. It was assumed that the modernization's positive economic effects would affect *everyone equally*, that the benefits of economic development would "trickle down" to families through the male breadwinner, and that the impact of the development was *"gender-neutral"* or *"gender-blind"*; that is, the needs and priorities of men and women were the same, and their experience of development was the same. During the first UN's Decade of Development [1961-70], women in the Third World were regarded as **passive recipients** [rather than active participants] whose major economic role was child-rearing. *There was no need, then, to think about women and men separately in planning for and implementing development projects.* Women rarely, if ever, were considered as a separate unit of analysis.

**CHANGED PERCEPTION IN THE 1970s:** This thinking changed in the 1970s, when there was a growing perception that women were not benefiting as much as men from development policy and practice. As new technologies were introduced into the agricultural sector, they usually were directed at men rather than women. This was so because women were not considered to be active in agriculture [productive role], and were thought to be just mothers and wives [reproductive role]. Thus, most projects of development improved male opportunities and technological knowledge but reduced women's access to both technology and employment. In the industrial sector, women often were relegated to the lowest-paying, most monotonous and sometimes health-impairing jobs, a condition due in part to their low levels of education, but also due to the role assigned to them as supplementary rather than principal wage earners.

The **Danish economist Esther Boserup's ground-breaking book Women's Role in Economic Development [1970]     challenged the 'welfare approach' of the modernization theory** that regarded women mainly as wives and mothers and being in need, and highlighted women's importance to the agricultural economy. Boserup criticized the modernization theory in the sense that development under such an approach would not be equally beneficial for women and men. According to Boserup:

- agriculture in Africa had been a female-farming system as recently as the mid-19th century, with women and men playing complementary roles in agricultural production, but the work of women was invisible to a male-dominated development bureaucracy.
- **as agricultural technology advanced from slash and burn to plow agriculture, women were increasingly marginalized. New farm techniques exacerbated the problem because women were not trained in new techniques.**
- a dichotomy, as a consequence, had emerged in the African countryside where men were associated with the modern, cash-cropping sector and women with traditional, subsistence agriculture.
- relegated to the subsistence sector, women lost income, status and power relative to men.
- a possible trickle-down effect of development would not benefit women and men

equally. Development had different effects on women and men. Women did not always benefit when male heads of household gained increased income and social status.

If, as Boserup suggested, women had in the past enjoyed a position of relative equality with men in agricultural production, then it was both appropriate and feasible for development assistance directed towards women to remove inequalities. Moreover, Boserup noted that in developing countries women are not in the majority in clerical jobs. Preference was generally given to men in all fields outside of nursing and teaching. Furthermore, by suggesting that in the recent past women were not only equal in status to men, but also equally productive, Boserup challenged the conventional wisdom that women were less productive and therefore not entitled to a share of scarce development resources. WID was essentially an integrationist approach; the belief that women could be brought into existing structures. By incorporating women into development, the traditional structures of patriarchy would be dismantled in the face of women's rising economic power.

In the light of Boserup's research, WID advocates rejected the narrow view of women's roles as mothers and wives. Instead of characterizing women as 'needy' beneficiaries, WID arguments represent women as 'productive' members of society. No longer, therefore, should women be seen as passive recipients of welfare programmes but rather as active contributors to economic development. Women can thus be seen as a 'missing link' in development, a hitherto 'undervalued economic resource' in the development process. WID advocates emphasized women's productive roles; women's subordination was linked to their exclusion from the market-place. It was therefore argued that if women were brought into the productive sphere more fully, not only would they make a positive contribution to development, but they would also be able to improve their status vis-a-vis men.

The term "WID" was initially used by the Women's Committee of the Washington, D.C. chapter of the Society for International Development, a network of female development professionals, as part of a deliberate strategy to bring the new evidence generated by Boserup and others to the attention of American policymakers. These women challenged the assumption that modernization would automatically increase gender equality. They began to use the term *women in development* in their efforts to influence the policies of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Their efforts resulted in the 1973 Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act 1971, with the aim of helping to integrate women into the national economies of their countries. In 1975, as part of WID's outreach, the United Nations took steps to establish an Institute for Training and Research for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), and it equally increased funds for women and development, presently known as UNIFEM.

In 1975, the International Women's Year was celebrated and the First World Conference on Women took place in Mexico City, resulting in a world plan of action to improve women's status. The theme was "Equality, Development and Peace". The UN Decade for Women 1976-85 called for equality between the sexes as well as changed relations between the North and the South. A goal was established to integrate women into development processes in the decade ahead.

Under its motto, "equal opportunity for women", the WID approach emphasized the importance of including women in the development process. The emphasis on equal opportunity for women came out of liberal feminism. The liberal perspective impregnates the modernization theory with the emphasis on equal opportunities for women and men. So the benefits of modernization should be for women as well as men. WID, thus, represents a merging of modernization and liberal-feminist theories. WID seeks to integrate women into development programmes, without challenging *existing social*

structures. Typical WID projects were income-generating activities. The most common income-generating programmes focused on traditional women's skills like sewing and handcrafts.

WID approach was not only adopted by the feminists, but also by organizations such as the UN, the IMF and the World Bank. The subject of WID literature has been characterized by Young as the "condition" of women: their poverty, their lack of education and training. This allows development practitioners to find "ways of improving women's condition by targeting ameliorative resources". [Young]

## CAROLINE MOSER [1993] DEVELOPED 5 POLICY APPROACHES:

- The Welfare Approach
- The Equity Approach
- The Anti-poverty Approach
- The Efficiency Approach
- The Empowerment Approach

**THE WELFARE APPROACH [PRE-WID] [1950-70]:** Based on **modernization,** Moser's first category predates Boserup's landmark work, and perceived motherhood as women's primary role in society. The purpose was to bring women into development as mothers. Its initial concerns were on what could be done to ensure that women had the conditions which enable them to meet the needs of their children and family, since they were largely seen as mothers and carers. It focuses solely on **women's reproductive roles,** and includes family planning programmes to control population growth which is seen as the primary cause of poverty; eradication of malnutrition through education [on nutrition, population control, home economics and parenthood] and mother and child health programmes; family survival through provision of food aid. It thus targets **practical needs.** This approach assumes that women are seen as passive beneficiaries of development, and child-rearing is women's most effective role in development. The development programme is implemented through **'top-down' handouts** of free goods and services. The welfare approach has promoted (and does promote) the availability of much-needed maternal and child health care (MCH), with the consequent reduction in infant and to some extent maternal mortality. However, it is argued that the top-down nature of so many welfare programmes has only succeeded in creating *dependency* rather than in assisting women to become more independent.

**THE EQUITY APPROACH [1975-85]:** **Gender equality** denotes women having the same opportunities in life as men, including the ability to participate in the public sphere. **Gender equity** denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men, recognizing their different needs and interests, and requiring a **redistribution** of power and resources. Since women are relatively unprivileged compared with men, more resources and efforts should be directed towards them so that the outcome is the same for both men and women. This is gender equity. If equal opportunities are given to both women and men and if women are unprivileged, which they certainly are, then the outcomes would be different. This is gender equality but not gender equity. Gender equity and gender equality can only have similar outcomes for women and men if both women and men are equally privileged in the society.

- It is the **first WID approach** used in the UN Decade for Women [1976-85] whose purpose is to gain equity for women, who are seen as active participants in development.
- It challenges women's subordinate position.
- The UN's backing of women had a lasting impact on social and political legislation, which enhanced women's civil and political rights in many countries, such as laws against violence.

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- This approach meets women's **strategic needs.**
- It is criticized as Western feminism. Thus the bottom line was the outright rejection of this approach by the developing nations, who claimed that to take "feminism to a woman who has no water, no food and no home is to talk nonsense" (Bunch). It means that practical and not strategic needs should be focused; that is the primary problem to be addressed was poverty.

The equity approach was designed to meet **strategic gender needs through top-down legislative measures.** One of the major assumptions of the equity approach was that legislated equal opportunity would ensure equal benefits for all; however, it goes without saying that **despite the decrease in discriminatory laws in many parts of the world, women found that legislation or policy changes alone did not guarantee equal treatment;** equal rights to education do not mean that girls and boys are schooled in equal numbers or that girls would not encounter sexual harassment in colleges. Moreover, the recognition of equity as a policy principle did not guarantee its implementation in practice – a typical situation in many developing countries. It means that practically not much was implemented to rectify the pathetic state of women and end gender inequality. Legislation alone won't do anything. It is the culture of a society that matters as well. WID approach, as we will see ahead, did not take into account the diversity in cultures. WID approach did not consider the power relations between women and men, that is gender analysis. Patriarchal system is dominant even today, but WID approach is not focused on that. This equity approach, in any case, failed because it was not much followed due to male-dominated societies. GAD approach ahead would try to make it up.

(3) **THE ANTI-POVERTY APPROACH:** Since the equity approach, in which subordination was linked to inequality, had faced resistance, the second WID approach, adopted 1970s onwards, assumes that inequality is mainly due to poverty. Poverty is considered to be the women's main problem. Thus, the focus was just on economic inequality and not on all types of inequality as was the target of the equity approach. It concentrated on enhancing women's productive role through small-scale income-generating projects and skill-generating projects, thereby neglecting strategic needs. It is most popular with NGOs.

(4) **THE EFFICIENCY APPROACH; POST 1980s:** The third WID approach, adopted since the 1980s debt crisis, emphasized that development is more efficient and effective through harnessing women's economic contribution. It seeks to meet women's practical needs. **It is associated with the IMF and World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes [SAPs] that emphasize efficiency and productivity.** The approach stresses that, as half the population, women must be used *efficiently* in the labour force in restructured economies to achieve economic growth. If women do not work in the market place, then their working potential is being wasted. This approach emphasizes on women working in factories, etc. The efficiency approach rests on the neo-liberal notions of restructuring to reap the benefits of market forces, of economic growth, and of international trade. This shift towards development also had an underlying assumption that increased economic participation of Third World women is automatically linked with increased equity; on this basis, organizations such as USAID, the World Bank and OECD have argued that an increase in women's economic participation in development links efficiency and equity together. *But rather than liberating women into the workplace, globalization or modernization has bred a new underclass of low paid or unpaid women workers. Capitalists need low-paid women workers for profits.*

(5) **THE EMPOWERMENT APPROACH; 1975 ONWARD, ACCELERATED IN 1980s:** It is the cornerstone of GAD doctrine. Its purpose is to empower women through greater self-reliance, by means of supporting **bottom-up/grassroots** mobilization such as the microcredit scheme. It thus seeks to empower women through the redistribution of power within societies. It addresses

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women's strategic needs to change laws and structures that oppress them. It is against male oppression [domestic violence] and neo-colonial oppression. **Pakistan's Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act (2010)** is meant to create a safe working environment for women, which is free of harassment, abuse and intimidation with a view to fulfilling their right to work with dignity.

Note that the equity approach also identifies these strategic needs, but the modus operandi differs: while the former (for that matter, all the previous approaches) relies on top-down legislations and interventions, the empowerment approach functions in a bottom-up, participatory planning framework of women's organizations at grass-root level. The empowerment approach recognizes all the three roles of women (i.e. community participation, reproduction and production) and seeks to raise women's consciousness through bottom-up organizations and mobilize them against subordination. The Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) has in general been acknowledged as the best-known champion of this approach.

# Women and Development [WAD]: A Neo-Marxist Approach

**CHALLENGING CAPITALISM:** WAD, a Marxist-feminist paradigm, emerged in the latter half of the 1970s from a critique of modernization theory and the WID approach. WID treated women as 'untapped resources', which, when adequately integrated, would help make the market economy more 'efficient'. WAD considered WID to be an **"add women and stir"** approach, reminiscent of liberal feminism approach that sought only to integrate women into the political and economic system without questioning the existing system. <u>The Third World feminists criticized that the problem was not the fact that women were not integrated into development, but that they were integrated into the development process that exploited them.</u> WAD asserted that women had always been part of the development process but that women would not benefit until international systems were more equitable. WAD challenged international structures of inequality between the rich North and the poor South. Development, according to WAD, is a process through which rich got richer and the poor got poorer. The WAD school believed that only with radical, systemic reform could women benefit from development. WAD theorists would frequently point to the advances of women in communist countries where the state had abolished private property. WAD attacked capitalism in developing societies.

WAD is a neo-Marxist approach that stems in part from the dependency theory and world systems theory. WAD approach originated back in 1975 in Mexico city, as it sort to discuss women's issues from a neo-Marxist and dependency theory perspective. Its focus was to "explain the relationship between women and the process of capitalist development in terms of material conditions that contribute to their exploitation".

**MARXISM:** Karl Marx, whose Communist Manifesto [1848; coauthored with Friedrich Engels] and Das Kapital [1868] emphasized the economic basis of economic conflict, was an economic determinist. He insisted that the economic substructure determines the nature of all other institutions and social relationships in society. In his view, the emergence of capitalism produces economic inequality in which the proletariat [workers] is exploited by the bourgeoisie [owners or capitalist class]. This exploitation creates poverty and also is the root of other social problems. Marx viewed the history of all existing societies as one of class struggle. Marx described this conflict as a dialectical process in which theses [existing ideas or institutions] spawn their opposites, or antitheses, until a final synthesis [new idea or social order] emerges. Thus, for Marx,

capitalism [thesis] breeds its own destruction by giving birth to a proletarian revolution [antithesis] and finally a new world order of socialism [synthesis]. Because Marx theory relates to material world, this is often described as Marx's theory of dialectical materialism.

NEO-MARXISM: DEPENDENCY THEORY AND WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY: In contrast to the modernization theory, which presumes a linear path to development and expects all countries to be able to achieve prosperity by free trade [a win-win situation; a positive-sum game], dependency theorists [and the world systems theory by Immanuel Wallerstein] argue that the development of First World states [the core] is based on the exploitation of Third World states [the periphery], a relationship that stems from European colonization and neo-colonialism. According to this view, as long as First World states continue to rely on the natural resources and cheap labour of the Third World, and as long as the Third World states remain poor and stuck in foreign debt, this unequal relationship of dependency will persist. Drawing from and elaborating on dependency and world systems theories, WAD scholars believe that women, especially poor, working women, have always been active participants in the development process and their oppression stems primarily from their countries' historical dependency on industrial capitalist states. Nonetheless, like the WID approach, WAD emphasizes women's income-generating ["productive"] activities and fails to address the unpaid ["reproductive"] household labour.

As subsistence economies turned into capitalist economies, the production of goods for personal, direct use was replaced by production for exchange. This shift from subsistence to capitalism tends to benefit men more than women. For Marxist-feminists, capitalism has produced an oppressive society for the working class, including women, because they are treated like commodities, a part of the wealth and resources controlled by a few. Women's problems will only be resolved when capitalism and the class structure are abolished. Existing global structures of inequality based on class domination, imperialism and the neo-colonization of the Third World by the First World nations affect women. Of particular concern is the exploitative relationship between the Third World women and MNCs based in First World countries. WAD advocates emphasize classism not sexism, seeing gender inequality as part of class inequality perpetuated by the culprit of capitalism. WAD advocates do not see gender relations as problematic, downplaying men's role in women's oppression. Consequently, patriarchy leading to subordination and oppression of women are not fully examined by the WAD approach. Its proponents base their arguments on the assumption that once the international structures become more equitable, women's position will be improved. They tend to see women's problems as independent of men's. They focus exclusive concern on women's productive role and give scant attention to their reproductive role in the household.

# Gender and Development [GAD]

The shift from a WID to a GAD approach to "gender mainstreaming" in the early 1990s was due to the fact that a focus on women alone is not sufficient for addressing the unequal gender power relations underpinning poverty. GAD emphasized the social and cultural relations between men and women, and engaging men in gender-aware programming in order to change unequal gender relations.

## WHAT IS GENDER MAINSTREAMING?

Gender mainstreaming is: "the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences a central dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political,

economic and social spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated" [UNECOSOC].

GAD approach operates primarily through a strategy called gender mainstreaming. **Gender mainstreaming is a term that was first introduced at the 1985 Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi and was then formally incorporated at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.** The goal of gender mainstreaming is to re-assess all development policies vis-à-vis their impact on men and women. The ultimate goal, according to the UN, is to achieve gender equity. Gender mainstreaming is the attempt to "mainstream" gender into decision-making processes by requiring that, before decisions are made, an analysis is carried out of their likely effects on women and men.

Since WID projects remained as small isolated projects of income generation for women, it was criticized that it had *little* potential to bring about a *substantial* change in women's situation or in gender power relations. The difference between WID and GAD is essentially based on the *approach* to assessing and dealing with women's unequal position in society. While the WID approach focused exclusively on women to improve women's unequal position, the GAD approach recognizes that improvements in women's status require analysis of the relations between men and women, as well as the concurrence and cooperation of men. Emphasis is placed on the need to understand the ways in which unequal relations between women and men may contribute to the extent and forms of exclusion that women face in the development process. There is also an overt recognition that the participation and commitment of men is required to fundamentally alter the social and economic position of women. This recognition led to a shift from an exclusive focus on women to a GAD approach.

WID can result in greater economic independence, a sense of freedom and personal pride, class consciousness, and new forms of solidarity among women, but WID, without more far-reaching changes in women's disadvantaged position in society, can leave women vulnerable economically and subject to continued oppression and exploitation, rather than empowered. GAD was egalitarian in its view that women should be trained in "male" skills, not just be trained to market the "female" skills they had in crafts or food production, as WID had done. GAD programmes acknowledge the importance of strengthening women's legal rights including inheritance and land rights. **Caroline Moser** [1993] and Molyneux and Deborah Steinberg [1995] put forward the theory that there are two types of interests: practical gender interests and strategic gender interests. Poverty cannot be eliminated by higher income alone. To eliminate poverty, far more than the employment of able-bodied adults is required. For development to be effective, the needs of children, the elderly, and people with disabilities would have to be incorporated into the development agenda. The approach needs a shift from a focus on household consumption to an understanding that people need infrastructure and services [sanitation, safe drinking water, public transportation, health and education facilities].

# Comparing WID and GAD

1. **INTEGRATION INTO THE EXISTING STRUCTURE:** WID had accepted the *existing* social and power structures, working within them to improve the position of women. WID aimed to integrate women into development. There was no attempt to ask why women were not favoured by development projects but instead the focus was on how they could benefit from being incorporated into development, with projects specifically targeted at women. This non-confrontational approach avoided questioning the sources and nature of women's subordination and oppression and focused instead on advocacy for more equal participation in education, employment and other spheres of

society. The WID approach did not address gender discrimination—the root cause preventing women's full participation in the society.

**2. FOCUS ON SEX OR GENDER:** WID focused on sex [women], while GAD intended to change the power relationships between women and men. WID projects were targeted and segregated women-only projects that had served to marginalize and isolate women from the mainstream of development. GAD uses gender, rather than women, as an analytical category to understand how economic, political, social and cultural systems affect women and men differently. GAD expanded its concept from "women's promotion" to the "improvement of a quality of life" for all members of the society, regardless of sex, race or class distinction. GAD projects are designed to be preferably gender-sensitive [attempts to redress existing gender inequalities] and gender-positive/transformative [attempt to re-define women and men's gender roles and relations].

**3. WOMEN AS BENEFICIARIES OR AGENTS OF CHANGE:** WID treated women as beneficiaries and recipients and not as participants or decision-makers. GAD sees women as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development efforts. GAD focuses on women empowerment [ability to make strategic choices in terms of rights to assets and services] and women agency [capacity of women to take autonomous action].

**4. WOMEN CONSIDERED HOMOGENEOUS:** WID tended to represent *all* Third World women conventionally as poor, backward, vulnerable, in need of help from the First World. WID did not consider influences on women such as class, race, or ethnicity. Women were seen as a homogeneous group, irrespective of their class, race and cultural background. It focused on women as a unit of analysis without recognizing the important divisions that exist among women and the frequent exploitation that occurs in most societies of poor women by richer ones. Rich and poor women may have less in common than poor women and poor men. In white-dominated societies, a black woman may have more in common with a black man than with a white woman. Thus, the status of and opportunities for women will also be influenced by their financial, ethnic, class and other characteristics.

**5. FOCUS ON PRODUCTIVE/REPRODUCTIVE ROLE OF WOMEN:** WID focused solely on the productive not reproductive role of women. Mirroring modernization theory, it saw development as economic growth that could only occur in productive activities. WID-supported activities provided income-generated opportunities for women, but there were no strategies for reducing the burden of their household tasks or improving reproductive technologies. WID concentrated on opening up the formal economy to women and paid less attention to the informal economy [e.g. inside the home], believing the democratization of the former will naturally result in the democratization of the latter. GAD offers a holistic approach by linking the relations of production to the relations of reproduction. GAD identifies the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis of women's oppression.

**6. FOCUS ON POVERTY/OPPRESSION:** WID emphasized poverty and not oppression, and poverty was not seen as an outcome of male oppression over women. WID adopted a non-confrontational approach that sidestepped women's subordination and oppression. WID theorized that economic development would liberate females by integrating them more into economic life through education. GAD targets at the same time the "condition" of women [i.e. poverty] and their "position" [i.e. status, defined especially in legal terms] in society. GAD challenges existing fixed gender roles and seeks to ensure that women have equal access to positions of power in the economy and the workplace. And, unlike the WID concept, it puts a strong emphasis on women's emancipation.

**7. FOCUS ON PRACTICAL/STRATEGIC NEEDS:** WID tended to focus more on the short-term practical needs. GAD emerged to address women's long-term strategic interests, and seeks to eliminate inequality through political means, for example through changing laws.

**8. FOCUS ON EQUALITY/EQUITY:** The 'gender mainstreaming' strategy under GAD focuses on the fact that development policies affect women and men differently. It addresses these differences by mainstreaming gender into development planning at all levels and in all sectors. Its focus is less on providing equal treatment for women and men [since equal treatment does not necessarily result in equal outcomes], and more on taking whatever steps are necessary to ensure that women and men *benefit* equally. **Thus, while WID focuses on gender equality, GAD focuses on gender equity.** [Gender equality denotes women having the same opportunities in life as men, including the ability to participate in the public sphere. This expresses a liberal feminist idea that removing discrimination in opportunities for women allows them to achieve equal status to men. Equal opportunities policies and legislation tackle the problem through measures to increase women's participation in public life. However, this focus on what is sometimes called formal equality, does not necessarily demand or ensure equality of outcomes because women are in general underprivileged. It assumes that once the barriers to participation are removed, there is a level playing field. Gender equity denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men, recognising their different needs and interests, and requiring a redistribution of power and resources. The goal of gender equity, sometimes called substantive equality, moves beyond equality of opportunity by requiring transformative change. It recognises that women and men have different needs, preferences, and interests and that equality of outcomes may necessitate different treatment of men and women. An equity approach implies that all development policies and interventions need to be scrutinised for their impact on gender relations. It necessitates a rethinking of policies and programmes to take account of men's and women's different needs and interests. So, for example, it implies rethinking existing legislation on employment, as well as development programmes, to take account of women's reproductive work and their concentration in unprotected, casual work in informal and home based enterprises.] **While WID does not focus on any change in the system, like liberal feminism, GAD focuses to transform the system that is based on socially constructed gender roles.**

**9. ROLE OF MEN:** WID ignored the very critical role played by men in decision-making and resource allocation. GAD considers men as potential supporters and allies of women. GAD asserts that improving the status of women is not just a women's issue but a goal that requires the active participation of both men and women.

**SHIFT FROM WID TO GAD:** Dramatic change could not be made without addressing the deeply entrenched gender inequalities. Women needed to be agents of *change*. In the 1970s, the focus was on the ability of state to bring about transformation. From the 1980s, there was a shift away from the state towards NGOs. In response to critiques of WID and WAD, a "gender and development" [GAD] approach, with its roots in socialist feminism, was adopted in the 1980s, influenced by the UN Decade for Women [1976-85]. Socialist feminists identified the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis of women's oppression. The Gender and Development approach (GAD) arose in response to concerns over the failure of WID approaches to improve the status of women. In 1995, the GAD approach was institutionalized and sanctioned at the **Fourth UN Conference on Women held in Beijing.** The conference document, **the Beijing Platform of Action,** declared that gender should be "mainstreamed" in every policy, meaning that the different needs of women and men need to be taken into account in the planning and implementations of all public policies. At the forum, 189 state representatives agreed that the inclusion of both women and men in every development project was the only way to succeed and progress in a nation economic growth and development. GAD approach has been clearly articulated by a group called Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era [DAWN], launched at the 1985 Nairobi International NGO forum [attended by 15000 women activists].

**WHAT DOES GAD THEORIZE?** According to GAD, the oppression of women will stop only if women participate in non-home economic production---under conditions of equality between females and males---and men are more involved in household activities. Women must get access to

political and economic resources, and patriarchal ideas should be undermined. According to GAD, the focus of the problem is not just women, but the nature of the relationship between women and men, leading to the subordination of women. GAD does not emphasize on "sex"; it emphasizes on "gender". Sex is biologically determined, while gender is socially or culturally determined. Consequently, while it is difficult to change a person's sex, gender roles can be modified by modifying the social values, norms, attitudes, and behaviours.

Thus, gender roles need not be static. GAD seeks to achieve gender equity by recognizing how women and men relate to one another, and that involves attitudes and behaviours. Illustration [1]:In the course of its AIDS programme in Africa, UNDP has launched "community conversations". As a result of these discussions, men are learning more about AIDS and about how their lives might be enriched by more respectful relations between men and women. Those conversations are more effective in changing behaviours than laws passed by the governments. Illustration [2]: Following the destructive cyclone in Ossetia, India, UNDP volunteers sought a way, to improve disaster preparation. The programme could have been structured within existing gender roles, such as working with women on preparing children and food, and with men on transportation. Instead the programme initiated emergency teams that included women and men, and mock-drills that engaged whole villages. This has led to a more collaborative relationship between women and men and respect for each other, which laws cannot perhaps provide.

The GAD approach encourages planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation to be undertaken according to the following principles: work on more than one level (practical and strategy needs) to bring about change in gender relations; work in a participatory way with men and women— make sure you involve men because it takes men as well as women to change gender relations.

## In short, the GAD approach signals three important departures from WID.

- First, it identifies the unequal power relations between women and men.
- Second, it reexamines all social, political and economic structures and development policies from the perspective of the gender differentials.
- Third, it recognizes that achieving gender equality and equity will demand "transformative" change in gender relations from household to global.

**EMPOWERMENT THROUGH CREDIT FACILITATION:** The GAD empowerment projects have involved microcredit schemes, which are an improvement on the income-generation schemes under the WID. The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, SEWA [Self-Employed Women's Association], a women's trade union in India, the Mudzi Fund in Malawi, and GABRIELA [General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership, and Action] in the Philippines are successful projects under the GAD empowerment approach. Poor women are given credit to become entrepreneurs by starting projects such as village mobiles to rice mills.

Because large-scale development projects have largely ignored the informal sector where most of the poorest of the poor work and reside, **microenterprise programmes** to address their needs have arisen. **Microcredit** or Microenterprise lending is the process where groups of four or five borrowers receive small loans at commercial interest rates to start or expand small businesses and open their first savings accounts. Microcredit began 30 years ago when economics professor Mr. Yunus founded the Grameen ("village") bank of Bangladesh and extended credit to people too poor to qualify for loans at other banks. The first microcredit lending came from his own pocket. He lent $26 to a group of 42 workers who bought materials for a day's work weaving chairs and making pots. At the end of the first day as independent business owners they sold their wares, made a profit, and soon repaid the loan. The large majority of the workers in these successful microenterprise programmes were women. Mr Yunus noticed that women used profits from microenterprise activities to feed their children and build their businesses, whereas men

spent profits on electronics and personal goods. In addition data on Grameen Bank borrowers show women's loan repayment rates above 98 percent. The successes of Grameen in Bangladesh have been replayed with microcredit schemes targeted at women in India, Egypt, Zambia, Bolvia, and other parts of the developing world. For his efforts to create social and economic development for the world's poor using bottom-up approaches, Mr. Yunus was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006.

**WID/GAD AND EDUCATION:** In contrast to WID, which focuses on access and equal opportunity to education for girls only, GAD examines the impact of gender on the education of both girls and boys. In countries like Malawi, Swaziland and Zambia, where the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic is acute, prevalence rates are higher among adolescent girls than boys. School environments are unsafe and insecure for girls. Their predicament is evident in the classrooms, where male discourse dominates, sexual harassment of girls is prevalent, and irrelevant and outdated curricula portray girls and women in subservient roles. Thus, education should be examined in relation to the social, political, cultural, and economic contexts. **Curricula should challenge the status quo of inequitable gender relations.** All subjects should be equally open to girls, who have the choice to select the traditionally male or traditionally female subjects. Girls-friendly schools must have separate, well-maintained rest-rooms for girls and boys. Within the GAD approach, implementation of policies against discrimination and harassment is a pre-requisite of a quality learning environment for girls. If, as under WID, the educational focus on girls is simply to educate them within the *existing* educational structure, that might be based on patriarchy or silent about the negativities of patriarchy, then the goals of eliminating gender inequality may not be achieved. But, if the educational policies are designed after gender analysis under GAD, then the educational policies [made by both women and men] should target boys and men educating them about the importance of education for girls.

**WID/GAD AND HEALTH:** Because there are biological differences between women and men in health needs and experiences, there is a tendency to attribute all male-female differences to biology. The consequence is that maternal health programmes are seen as an adequate response to addressing differences in health between sexes. The need for examining gender issues in all health problems remains unrecognized. Although, there may be biological differences in the way that doctors make a diagnosis, gender roles' awareness can help doctors to understand the different risk factors, diagnosis, and treatment. Health deterioration may be connected with different gender roles. Women and men have different gender roles. For example, men are the breadwinners while women take care of children, disabled, elderly and other family members. Men are supposed to be masculine, and so are under social pressure to be 'masculine'. This could lead to health risks associated with risk-seeking behaviours [as working in places where they have to carry heavy loads; consumption of alcohol; rash driving; eating unhealthy and fattening food] or reluctance to seek healthcare [as not getting checked for infertility]. However, health strategies often do not refer to biological/gender differences. Under gender mainstreaming, projects aim to raise awareness among emergency health-care professionals in identifying, diagnosing, and treating women. We need to study different gender roles, gender norms [men are traditionally expected to be non-emotional, self-confident or aggressive] and gender relations [inequalities at home and at workplace, like low pay], and so doctors can address different health risks experienced by women and men. Moreover, simply providing doctors for health projects may not be sufficient. Problems could arise for Muslim women or for uneducated persons:

- Muslim women may only consult a woman doctor.
- An uneducated person goes to a doctor. He prescribes medicine, but the uneducated one does not understand and even does not ask out of embarrassment. He goes and takes antibiotics in 2 days.

Gender mainstreaming under GAD takes into account all such issues.

# Comparing WID and GAD: A summary

**1. THE APPROACH:** WID views the absence of women in development plans as the major problem; GAD regards unequal social relations between men and women as the major problem.

**2. THE FOCUS:** The focus of WID is on women; the focus of GAD is on the socially constructed relations between men and women, with special focus on the subordination of women.

**3. THE PROBLEM:** For WID, it is the exclusion of women from the development process; for GAD it is unequal power relations leading to inequitable development.

**4. THE GOAL:** For WID it is efficient development that includes women; for GAD it is equitable development with both women and men as full participants in decision-making.

**5. THE SOLUTION:** WID [integrate women into the existing development process]; GAD [transform unequal relations, and empower the disadvantaged and women].

**6. THE STRATEGIES:** WID [focus on women's projects; increase women's productivity and income; increase women's ability to look after the household]; GAD [reconceptualize the development process, taking gender and global inequality into account; identify and address practical needs to improve the conditions of men and women; at the same time, address women's strategic needs].

"The WID approach is associated with a concern to increase women's participation and benefits, thereby making development more effective. Gender and Development represents a transition to not only integrate women into development, but look for the potential in development initiatives to transform unequal social and gender relations and to empower women." **[The Canadian Council for International Cooperation]**

## GENDER MAINSTREAMING PROJECTS UNDER UN-HABITAT

### 1. FACILITATING ACCESS TO LAND FOR EARTHQUAKE- AFFECTED FAMILIES IN PAKISTAN

**Project's Main Objective.** To support the Government of Pakistan in facilitating access to land for people presently in rehabilitation communities, who were made landless or virtually landless by the 2005 earthquake.

**Gender Issues Covered.** Traditionally, the land and property rights and the role of women in decision-making are very limited in Pakistan. They are often deprived of financial and material resources. The earthquake caused a huge loss of life and material, multiplying the vulnerabilities of women and increasing their worries. UN-Habitat Pakistan launched interventions under the flag of the Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority of Government of Pakistan to assist the affected population in the particular sectors of land and housing. Under the Authority's Landless Programme, UN-Habitat helped the women of beneficiary families own land.

**Gender Strategy and Implementation.** UN-Habitat introduced a joint land-titling scheme, supported by Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority, which granted women equal ownership of their land and house. The male heads of households were not authorized to sell the newly obtained land without the approval of their wives, mothers, daughters and other female members of their family. This innovation changed the mindset of the community towards respecting women's property rights.

Women were provided important opportunities to meet, discuss their experience, ask questions and gain knowledge for reconstruction. Women were often the only member of the family at home all day and played a vital role in supervising masons to ensure quality assurance, using the skills from the training.

**Knowledge Products from the Project.** Education and communication materials were published and disseminated in the form of flyers, charts, posters, banners and boards. These were displayed at prominent places and the community was educated with regards to their land rights and grievance methodology with proper training. Two video documentaries – Building on New Ground (in Urdu) and New Beginning (in English) were also prepared during the course of the programme to highlight the successes and challenges.

**Lessons Learnt.** The inclusion of women in decision making and in policy formulation should be made mandatory if we intend to work for gender mainstreaming. Their right to property made them feel secure and empowered at all levels.

## 2. WATER AND SANITATION IMPROVEMENT THROUGH GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND CAPACITY-BUILDING OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN FIVE CITIES OF PAKISTAN INCLUDING GILGIT AND RAWALPINDI

*Project's Main Objectives:* • To improve health and sanitation within the informal settlement and empower women within the decision-making mechanism at the community level • To provide safe drinking water and sanitation facilities in selected informal urban settlements.

*Target Beneficiaries:* Target Beneficiaries were the residents of urban slums with special focus on women and girls.

*Gender Issues Covered:* Women suffer most from poor water supply and sanitation as they are often burdened with long waiting periods to collect water far from home. Women are also generally responsible for maintaining household hygiene and the health of children. Waterborne diseases such as diarrhoea, cholera and skin diseases were prevalent among women and, especially, children. Lack of water and health awareness led to behavior such as not washing hands with soap after use of the toilet. There were no public toilets, especially for women, in places such as bus stands. Additionally, women and young girls suffer indignity as a result of inadequate water and sanitation. There were incidents when boys harassed women and girls at water collection points. The streets were unpaved so that elderly women and children have difficulty walking. The narrow streets also made difficult for garbage collection trucks to access, so that solid waste accumulated around the neighborhood. Gender issues were not considered as priority by local authorities (Water and Sanitation Authorities, Tehsil municipal administrations and Union Council governments); hence a lack of gender-sensitive planning. Women were not involved in local action planning; they also lacked leadership skills.

At least 200 local government officials were trained in gender-sensitive planning. They supported women's participation in local action planning. A total 323 women were equipped with leadership skills in 24 informal settlements. Women's groups in their communities helped monitor the construction of eight water filtration plants, seven motorized water pumps, and five water hand pumps. In addition, nine water supply schemes were rehabilitated. Women were also made aware on water treatment methods; hence the provision of clean drinking water. More community infrastructure was improved. Sixteen street pavements were built in six cities, which made it easier for the elderly walk and for children to play. Separate toilets for women and men were built at the Gilgit City bus stand. New and innovative solid waste collection methods were introduced for 24 informal settlements in six cities.

**Impact:** Local authorities now recognize women's needs, on the basis of equality, in planning for service delivery. Men and local leaders now better appreciate women's participation and leadership in community projects. Bringing water sources closer to homes ensured women and girls' safety such that harassment cases are reduced to nil. Community health improved with 80 per cent of women, men, boys and girls adopting hand washing and other hygienic practices in their daily routine. No cholera case was reported in the project areas; there was 90 per cent reduction in other waterborne diseases. Time saved from collecting water among of women is now being utilized in productive activities such as accepting tuition for tutoring grade school children. Other women can now spare time to work as domestic helpers in the adjacent middle class homes.

**Lessons Learned:** In most of the project areas, it was very difficult to ensure the maximum participation of women and girls due to cultural beliefs of male dominance and views restricting women's roles in society. The issue was tackled by sensitizing the community women members to adhere to the importance of women's involvement in decision-making. Children were considered as the change agent for water, sanitation and hygiene activities; it was observed that the parents listened to their children and acted on their views. The participation of the students was maximized by organizing water, sanitation and hygiene sessions in the schools. Additionally, three volunteers were trained on water, sanitation and hygiene. These volunteers delivered these aspects of health messages to the boys and girls of the local community.

**THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS** 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger 2. Achieve universal primary education 3. Promote gender equality and empower women 4. Reduce child mortality 5. Improve maternal health 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases 7. Ensure environmental sustainability 8. Develop a global partnership for development.

**GENDER AND THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS** The Millennium Declaration, signed in September 2002 at the United Nations Millennium Summit, commits the Member Countries to striving to achieve eight specific goals by the year 2015. To give definition to each of the goals, specific targets have been set for each and a set of indicators defined against which performance can be monitored. Gender issues are highly relevant to achieving all of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – not just the ones where women's roles and responsibilities may be more evident such as reducing child mortality or improving maternal health. Understanding men's and women's roles and relationships are also central to combating HIV/AIDs, malaria and other diseases and ensuring environmental sustainability. As the MDGs are mutually reinforcing, progress towards one goal affects progress towards the others. Success in many of the goals will have positive impacts on gender equality, just as progress towards gender equality will help further other goals. The third of the Millennium Development Goals (to promote gender equality and empower women) addresses gender equality specifically.

# Globalization and Gender development

Modernization theorists have associated economic development with the emancipation of women from their traditional roles. In this view, patriarchal control and the subjugation of women is one of the key hierarchies that flourishes in traditional societies. The growth of market-based, capitalist relations brings with it a powerful drive towards individualism, valuing people not on the basis of their ascribed statues but rather on the basis of their achieved status and contribution to the productive process. Opportunities for women to gain an education and enter careers also expand, as modernization creates the need for a more skilled and literate workforce. Thus in the UN's ranking of countries on the basis of the **Gender-related Development Index [GDI]** and the **Gender Empowerment Measure [GEM]**, developed countries consistently outperform

developing ones. In short, gender equality marches hand in hand with modernity. Globalization has resulted in job opportunities for women, especially in the developing world, leading to the global "feminization of work". These jobs are in all economic sectors. The developed world has witnessed the growth of 'feminized' jobs ["pink collar" jobs] in the service sector such as retailing and data processing. From a feminist perspective, however, this conception of modernity is constructed on the basis of essentially masculine norms [refer to WID, WAD, AND GAD]. The result is "feminization of poverty". According to a UN Report: "Women are half the world's people; perform two-thirds of the world's working hours; receive one-tenth of the world's income; and own only one-hundredth of the world's property". Some 70% of the world's poor are women. Women are exploited. Women are paid less and have to encounter the "glass ceiling".

# Structural Adjustment Programmes

By the 1970s, Third World economies began to stagnate. The situation was exacerbated when oil-producing nations, acting through the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] raised prices substantially, beginning in 1973 and again in 1979. With high imported energy costs, many developing countries saw economic growth rates plummet. The cumulative effect was the debt crisis. Several major developing states, especially in Latin America, found themselves unable to pay back the money borrowed during the 1970s. Consider Mexico. Fearing the consequences of a Mexican default, especially for major international banks, the International Monetary Fund [IMF] loaned Mexico money to make its payments. The loan did not come without strings, however. The IMF insisted that Mexico enact economic reforms for economic growth. This set the precedent for subsequent IMF bailouts throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia over the next two decades. The practice of requiring reforms in exchange for IMF assistance was known as conditionality. These conditions imposed on all nations seeking IMF assistance were referred to as "structural adjustment policies", and it is these policies that have been severely criticized. IMF "structural adjustment programmes" [SAPs] were designed to solve a problem. The debt crisis was the symptom and SAPs were the cure. But the nature of this cure depended upon the IMF's diagnosis of the problem. What was the cause of poor growth? The IMF blamed the misguided economic policies of developing nations. The critics, however, blame the capitalist global economic system that makes the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. The IMF, for example, demands fiscal discipline and balanced budgets. There are only two ways to balance a budget: bring in more revenues or reduce expenditures. Mostly, the latter course is pursued, and reductions in government spending usually concentrate on social and welfare programmes because reducing military spending runs the risk of angering powerful military establishments. Consequently, governments find it easier to reduce their expenditures by charging fees at rural clinics and schools than by firing soldiers. These cuts usually fall most heavily on those already living on the edge. Even minor increases in fees could be crushing for people who earn one or two dollars a day.

IMPACT ON GIRLS AND WOMEN: Such a measure has an immediate impact on women, with women expected to expand their domestic responsibilities to compensate for decreasing state investment in children's education or health. Increases in fees for government services such as health care and education can also have a perverse impact on girls from poor families in societies that have a gender bias in favour of male children. Faced with choosing which children get medical care or go to school, girls often lose out. And when government subsidies to industry are reduced, women workers are often to be laid off. Trade liberalization and opening economies to unrestricted foreign investment, another condition under SAPs, also have a deleterious impact on the poor. Without government subsidies or protections from foreign competition, domestic industries of

poor states [the Third World or the South] are forced to reduce costs by lowering wages or laying off workers, and the first to suffer are women. Forced to compete with cheap labour elsewhere in the developing world, the result is downward pressure on wages. Multinational corporations [MNCs] are attracted by the lure of cheap labour. These corporations especially exploit women who are paid less. Even though, MNCs make huge profits, salaries given to the women labour force are meagre. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the rich states exploit the poor states, and, according to the dependency theory of neo-Marxism, the poor states have to depend upon the rich states, the IMF is also considered an exploiting tool of the rich states. If the poor states remain poor, women, of course, will also remain poor and suffer more than men because of the patriarchal system rampant in the world.

# Chapter 5

# Gender-based violence

## Objectives

- Understand the concept of gender-based violence.
- Know various forms of violence.
- Grasp the concepts of various theories of violence.
- Understand various laws passed against gender-based violence in Pakistan.
- Know how to combat violence.

🏛     Discrimination and violence destroys the potential of girls and women in developing countries and prevents them from pulling themselves out of poverty. Andrew Mitchell, International Development Secretary, International Women's Day, 8th March 2012

🏛     Beating women is not cultural, it's criminal and it needs to be addressed and treated as such. Hillary Clinton

# Introduction

Violence is an ignominious blot on the history of civilization. Some writers claim that violence is instinctual in humans, but most of the social scientists view it as a culturally learned phenomenon. Although writers such as Konrad Lorenz [1966] and Robert Ardrey [1963] argue that humans have a "killer instinct", a natural predisposition toward violence and aggression, most social scientists reject this view, arguing instead that individuals learn violence, like nonviolence, through socialization. Japan's transition from a violent, warlike society before and during World War II to a pacifist society in the postwar period suggests that violence is not an inevitability. Just as violence can be learned, it probably also can be unlearned.

The term "gendered violence" refers to physical, verbal, emotional, sexual, and visual brutality that is inflicted disproportionately or exclusively on members of one sex. According to the UN: The term "violence against women" means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."

"Only a radical transformation of the relationship between women and men to one of full and equal partnership will enable the world to meet the challenges of the 21st century." [Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action]

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: Despite the fact that ex-football star O. J. Simpson won his criminal case and was not found guilty of the murder of his ex-wife Nicole Brown, tape recordings of a 911 call for assistance by Nicole, as well as pictures and police testimony, documented Simpson's history of battering Nicole. This case highlighted the widespread nature of an all-too-common form of violence: spouse battering.

Studies such as "The Marriage License as a Hitting License" and "The Family as a Cradle of Violence" highlight "intimate partner violence [IPV]. Traditionally in a patriarchal society as of Pakistan, "a man's home is his castle", and wife beating has been the prerogative of the "master of the house". In the 18th century, English jurist William Blackstone determined "a rule of thumb": A husband had the right to physically discipline an errant wife as long as the stick used was no thicker than his thumb. Newman [1979] identified the following as characteristic of wife abusers:

- Alcohol abuse
- Hostility
- Dependence on their wives
- Excessive brooding over trivial events
- Belief in societal approval of
- Economic problems
- A sudden burst of anger
- Having been a battered child

Domestic violence is gender-specific violence, commonly directed against women, occurring in the family. The abuse can be physical, emotional or psychological, sexual, financial or economic.

(1) Physical violence is any intentional behavior that offends a woman's bodily integrity or health.

(2) Emotional or psychological violence is any conduct or behavior that causes emotional damage, reduces self-worth or self-esteem or aims at degrading or controlling a woman's actions, behaviors, beliefs and decisions by means of threat, embarrassment, humiliation, manipulation, isolation, constant surveillance or pursuit, insult, intimidation, blackmail, ridicule, exploitation or any other

behavior that damages a woman's psychological health. Sexual violence is any conduct or behavior that forces a woman to witness, maintain or participate in unwanted sexual contact or behavior by means of intimidation, threat, coercion or use of force, including sexual assault, marital rape or forcing any type of sexual activity without consent. Financial or economic violence is any conduct or behaviour involving the use or misuse of the partner's consent regarding their financial resources or assets, including the deprivation, retention or subtraction of money or property or by other means making or attempting to make a woman financially dependent by maintaining control over financial resources. [United Nations General Assembly, Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, December 20, 1993; United Nations Economic and Social Council 1996; UNHCR 2005]

Laws or traditions that exclude women from owning land are structural violence. The results of structural violence and cultural violence can be lethal. For example, girls in South Asia run a much higher risk than boys of dying before age 5 because, inter alia, their parents tend to give them less nutritious food, health care and attention.

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) is the most widespread form of abuse worldwide, affecting one third of all women in their lifetime. Addressing violence against women and girls is a central development goal in its own right, and key to achieving other development outcomes for individual women, their families, communities and nations.

**RAPE AS A VIOLENT ACT:** Though perceived as a sexually motivated act, rape is primarily identified as a violent act in which sexual relation is merely a means of expressing violence, aggression, and domination. Groth and Birnbaum in **Men Who Rape [1979]** identify three types of rape:

1. • **The anger rape:** Anger rapists tend to harm, humiliate, and degrade their victims. Their attacks express rage, release anger, or obtain revenge.
2. • **The power rape:** Power rapists exercise strength, authority, and control over their victims to compensate for feelings of inadequacy and to affirm their masculinity.
3. • **The sadistic rape:** The perpetrators are sexually aroused by the physical and psychological suffering of his victim. These rapists use excessive force and torture the victim.

## GLASER [1978] PROPOSES 4 CATEGORIES OF RAPISTS:

1- • **Naïve graspers:** are sexually inexperienced youths who hold high expectations that their crude advances will be met with affection by their victims.
2- • **Meaning stretchers:** are the date rapists who stretch the meaning of, or misinterpret, a woman's expression of friendliness and affection as indicating that the female desires coitus even when she says no.
3- • **Sex looters:** have little desire for affection and little respect for the victim's autonomy and callously use women as sex objects.
4- • **Group conformers:** participate in gang rapes.

## THE CYCLE OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

- • **Stage 1:** Tension builds, and the abusive partner blames the other for problems or for not being supportive. Typically, the abuser begins psychological battering with insults, threats, taunts, and intimidation.
- • **Stage 2:** An explosion occurs. Tension erupts into physical violence.

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- **Stage 3:** The abuser appears ==contrite and remorseful.== The abuser may apologize to the victim and typically promises it will never happen again. The victim sees the "good person" inside and remembers what led to marriage.
- **Stage 4:** In this "honeymoon phase", the abuser acts loving. The victim becomes convinced that the abuse was an aberration that will not recur---even if it has repeatedly. And the whole cycle begins anew.

## THE POWER AND CONTROL WHEEL THEORY

The Power and Control Wheel is a famous tool to illustrate the experience of being abused. **The power and control approach suggests that ==perpetrators== use violence to control their partners.** The power and control wheel has been used to illustrate the ties between "power" and "control". This wheel was developed out of the **Domestic Abuse Intervention Project**, which was created in Duluth, Minnesota, in 1980. The **"Duluth Model"** is an ever evolving way of thinking about how a community works together to end domestic violence. ==The abuser uses the following "power" techniques to "control" the victim.==

*frighten / overawe*

- **==Intimidation:==** The abuser intimidates the woman through verbal and nonverbal actions, and frightens her into doing things he wants her to do. Examples include the destruction of property and displaying weapons.
- **==Coercion== and Threats:** In order to control the woman, the abuser uses threats as a technique. Examples include hurting her, threatening to leave her, taking children away from her.
- **Emotional Abuse:** The abuser exploits and controls the woman emotionally which could be more devastating than physical abuse. The tactics include humiliating her, making her feel guilty and using dirty language.
- **Isolation:** This element involves controlling what a woman does, whom she sees and talks to, and where she goes. The offender may keep the woman from visiting her friends or keep her from working. This increases his power and control over the woman.
- **Minimizing, Denying, and Blaming:** The abuser will make it seem that his actions are not that serious or deny them completely. He will tell the victim that she is imagining the harm by saying: "I did not hit you. I was just joking." He may also blame the woman for abuse.
- **Children:** Abusers often "use the children" to maintain power and control over their partners. Physically harming the children or threatening to harm them is the example. He might also threaten to withhold support if she decides to leave him.
- **Using male privilege:** Using patriarchal values, the abuser makes all of the decisions in the household. He places the woman in a ==subservient== position.
- **Economic abuse:** The abuser maintains control over the woman's finances, and so controls her more. This makes it more difficult for her to leave.

(A) Psychiatric Model — ① Psychopathology theory. (mental illness)
　　　　　　　　　　　② Substance Abuse theory. (drugs/alcohol)

(B) Socio-psychological Model.
　　① Social Learning Theory. (modeling + reinforcement)
　　② Marital (Power) — (due to lack of power.
　　③ Exchange Theory — (
　　④ Resource Theory (more resources, less violence)
　　⑤ The Frustration-Aggression Theory.

# The Psychiatric Model of Violence

The psychiatric model tries to understand family violence by analyzing the offender's personality traits and mental status. This model characterizes personality disorders, mental illness, and substance abuse as the primary causes of family violence.

① **THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY THEORY:** The psychopathology theory is grounded on the concept that certain individuals suffer from mental illness, personality disorders, and other dysfunctions that cause them to engage in aggressive acts within the family. This mental disorder, or illness, causes the individual to react violently within the family. This theory was first proposed by those in the medical profession. Psychiatrists, clinicians, and psychologists were exposed to family violence because of their close association with the victims. Although this is still a popular theory, researchers have failed to isolate any particular mental disorder, common to those who abuse, that distinguishes those who engage in violent behaviour from the rest of the population. In addition, attempts to distinguish the personality traits of those who engage in family violence with individuals who are not abusive have been inconsistent. Furthermore, many individuals who suffer from various forms of mental illness do not engage in aggressive behavior. In addition, by focusing on mental illness as a cause of violence, it ignores the fact that many violent individuals are not considered mentally ill.

② **THE SUBSTANCE ABUSE THEORY:** The substance abuse theory posits that drugs or alcohols cause or contribute to family violence. This theory is based on the concept that these substances impair judgment and lessen inhibitions and thereby allow violent acts to occur. Some authorities believe that these substances do not cause family violence. Rather, they are used as an excuse for violent acts. Numerous studies have linked alcohol or drugs to violent behavior, but no concrete evidence establishes that these substances directly cause family violence. In addition, this theory fails to explain why everyone who uses alcohol or drugs does not engage in violent acts.

# The Socio-psychological Model of Violence

The social-psychological model analyzes external environmental factors that affect the family unit. Factors such as stress, family structure, the intergenerational transmission of violence, and family interactions are all considered as primary causes of family violence.

① **THE SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY:** This theory assumes that the type of behavior most frequently reinforced by others is the one most often exhibited by the individual. **The social learning theory is an integration of differential associations with differential reinforcements so that the people with whom one interacts are the reinforcers of behaviour that results in learning both deviant and nondeviant behavior.** The social learning process is accomplished by two important mechanisms: modeling and reinforcement. Modeling is an important tool in learning behavior. Children learn by watching and imitating others. This role-model situation results in children adopting the behaviour they observe in adults, including aggressive acts. Reinforcement occurs when certain behaviour is rewarded and other behaviour is punished. Socialization continues as children mature and enter school and begin to interact with others. This process of interaction results in modification of behavior as the individual ages.

According to this theory, violence is not an inherent property of the individual, rather it is a learned behavior. Violence is learned through experiencing physical punishment, or through witnessing violence against others. The source of observation and learning is not just the family but also the subculture in which the individual lives. It includes the media that present women as having less worth and deserving less respect than men. This theory is used to explain the "intergenerational cycle of violence", where boys who witness violence against their mothers are more likely to be violent against their own partners when they grow up. Male peer groups are also the source of such socialization regarding the abuse of women.

(2) **THEORY OF MARITAL POWER:** According to this theory, those who lack power will be more likely to use violence against their partners. According to Cromwell and Olson [1975] power consists of power bases, power processes, and power outcomes. Power bases are the resources that provide a partner the foundation to dominate the other: knowledge, skill, personal assets, connections, etc. Power processes are the techniques needed by someone to gain control in an interaction, such as negotiation and assertiveness. Power outcome refers to which partner actually makes the decision. Thus, a husband is going to resort to violence against his wife as a result of his relative lack of power. Perilla and Norris [1994] found in their study of 60 immigrant Latinas that the more a woman contributed to her family income, the more likely she was to suffer abuse.

(3) **THE EXCHANGE THEORY:** Gelles [1983] succinctly summarized the basic premise of exchange theory: "People hit and abuse other family members because they can." People's actions are based on a cost-benefit analysis; they will use violence to obtain their goal as long as the benefit outweighs the cost. The exchange theory is based on the premise that persons act according to a system of rewards or punishments. Gelles entitled this approach the exchange/social control theory. The absence of social controls over family relations increases the likelihood that family members will engage in violence. The privacy of the family unit [as in a nuclear family] and the subsequent low risk of intervention decrease the cost of violence, thereby allowing it to occur. **If a husband is likely to suffer social censure and castigation, he may be less inclined to use violence as a means of control.**

• Gelles (1983)

(4) **RESOURCE THEORY:** This theory posits that the decision-making power within a given family derives from the value of the resources [both material and organizational like money, property, prestige and contacts] that each person brings to the relationship. Goode [1971] has argued that the extent to which a partner is likely to use violence to maintain control depends on the extent of his or her control of the resources outside the family; that is, the more external control one has, the less likely he or she will use violence as a means of control.

(5) **THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION THEORY:** The frustration-aggression theory is based on the premise that human beings display aggression toward objects that impede their achievement of certain goals. In a family situation, there are many instances in which parties attempt to obtain certain goals or objectives. Frustration may result when the attainment of those goals is blocked. Failure to attain desired goals can lead to aggression within the family by the frustrated party.

(6) **ECOLOGICAL THEORY:** This theory links violence with the culture. Heise (1998) proposed an ecological framework for understanding gender-based violence. This framework is conceptualized as 4 concentric circles.

- **Ontogenic:** The innermost circle represents the perpetrator's personal history. This includes exposure to violence in the family, having an absent or rejecting father, being abused as a child.
- **Microsystem:** The next circle represents the family setting in which the violence takes place. This includes male dominance, marital conflict, male control of wealth

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and decision making, use of alcohol, verbal conflict.

- **Exosystem:** The third circle represents the formal and informal social networks in which the family participates. This includes isolation of the woman and the family, as well as peer company that legitimizes and condones violence against women.
- **Macrosystem:** The largest circle represents the culture and social environment including norms that govern gender relations and male control over women and acceptance of violence as a way to settle interpersonal disputes. Negative messages about women contribute to a climate tolerant of gender-based violence, and tolerant of the social, economic and cultural oppression of women. It includes cultural factors such as patriarchal attitudes and beliefs regarding gender relations in intimate relationships.

(7) **INVESTMENT THEORY:** This theory explains that "investments" are important in helping to understand why people may choose to stay in relationships that appear to be wholly unrewarding, as those involving domestic violence. According to Rusbult, investment is **intrinsic** [the amount of time invested in that relationship], and the amount of personal information shared] and **extrinsic** [shared activities, shared possessions like photos, common friends]. Rusbult posited that one's willingness to stay in a relationship increases as the balance of rewards over costs from staying in *that* relationship exceeds the balance of rewards over costs involved in *alternative* relationships [including being single]. Thus, commitment to a relationship depends upon:

- Rusbult.
  - the anticipated satisfaction in a relationship which primarily comes from rewards gained from the partner
  - the amount of investment in that relationship, and
  - perception of lack of satisfaction in alternative relationships.

According to a research, feelings of commitment were greater among women who had poorer-quality economic alternatives, were more heavily invested in their relationships (e.g., were married), and experienced lesser dissatisfaction (e.g., reported less severe abuse). The difference between this approach and the exchange theory is the emphasis on past investments rather than a focus on current rewards.

(8) **TRAUMATIC BONDING THEORY:** This theory developed by Dutton and Painter posits why beaten women remain with the men who beat them. In all such relationships, two features are common: a power imbalance between that relationship [the intermittent nature of the abuse [that is, the violent act takes place in intervals]. As time passes, the batterer becomes more and more dominant, while the battered woman feels herself subjugated and dependent on the dominator. The violent act occurs intermittently, and the interim period is the one characterized by remorse and love. This loyalty between the batterer and the battered woman has been analogized as the **Stockholm syndrome:** a psychological phenomenon in which the victim express empathy and sympathy and have positive feelings toward the batterer.

(9) **EVOLUTIONARY THEORY:** As societies evolve from simple to complex, families become smaller and nuclear. In less complex societies, independence and self-reliance are emphasized, and, in comparison with complex societies, there is less reliance on physical punishment to secure obedience. **Levinson's [1989]** examination of the social change and wife beating may lend some support to this theory. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, various new states like Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia underwent a change from a joint family household to a nuclear family due to modernization and urbanization. As women started working outside and their status increased, and those of the men decreased, wife-beating became more common.

Levinson (1989)

**SOCIOBIOLOGY THEORY:** The sociobiological theories are used to explain rape, child abu infanticide, and other forms of domestic violence. These explanations of intimate violence based on the inclusive fitness theory which postulates that individuals will behave in ways increase the probability that their genes will be transmitted to future generations. The sociobio or evolutionary theory is based on the concept that parents display aggressive acts toward child who are not their own or do not have the potential to reproduce. This is because such men w those children who are their own plus who can reproduce and transmit their genes to fut generations. The sociobiology or evolutionary theory assumes that parents will not emotiona attach or invest themselves to children with low reproductive potential. Under this theo stepchildren or children with low reproductive potential, such as children with disabilities, are higher risk of abuse than normal, healthy children. Thus, the risk of abuse is higher where there a lack of bonding between the child and the parent. Moreover, individuals behave in certain w so as to increase their chances of reproducing. Thus, males use aggression as a form intimidation against females so that they will not resist efforts to mate with them.

# The Socio-cultural Model of Family Violence

The socio-cultural model of family violence focuses on the roles of men and women in our soci as well as on the cultural attitudes toward women.

(1) **THE CULTURE OF VIOLENCE THEORY:** Wolfgang and Ferracuti argue that certain subcultu within the United States develop norms and values that permit the use of physical violence. Th family violence will occur more frequently in violent societies than in peaceful ones. Pe relationships that support patriarchal dominance in the family and use of violence to support it exemplary of this subculture. This theory has also produced the theories that pornography violent images on TV can support a "culture of violence" against women.

- Wolfgang
Ferracuti

The culture of violence theory is based on the premise that violence is unevenly distributed wit the society, and that violence is more prevalent in the lower socioeconomic sectors of socie These subcultures use force as a response more often than the general population. **This theo assumes that violence is a learned response and reflects socialization or acceptan of violence as appropriate behavior.** One of the main limitations of this theory is that it d not explain how subcultural values originate or are modified. Furthermore, this theory limits learning of violence to certain socioeconomic subcultures. However, violence portrayed in media is received by all classes within our society. Some cultures glamorize violence. This appro of violence and aggression is primarily a male perspective. Males believe it is macho to be stro assertive, and aggressive. This view of violence and masculinity contributes to aggression tow women. Violence is an everyday part of our existence. Sporting events, children's toys, cartoo video games, movies, television, and the media's graphic depiction of violence all contribute to desensitization to the effects of violence and contribute to an attitude that aggressive behavio rewarded and condoned by society. Sporting events are often displays of violence. **Professio wrestling** is not so much a contest of strength and agility as it is entertainment featur uncontrolled aggression, women clad in revealing bathing suits escorting the wrestlers, frenzied crowds yelling for the champion to destroy the contender. Fights between players ar common occurrence in football, ice hockey, baseball, and basketball. Some international soc matches end with hundreds of fans fighting each other on the field. Aggressive behaviour violence are rewarded by large signing bonuses, and those athletes who display it are accorded status of celebrities. Children's toys and the advertisements that promote them are a study violence and marketing. **Young children can buy toy soldiers, monsters that f futuristic weapons, cars that crash into buildings, and all sorts of other viole**

Socio-cultural Model → (1) Culture of violence Theory (Violent ↑ vide society ↑
(2) General systems theory by Straus (Due to family society is aff
(3) Social conflict Theory
(4) The resource Theory

**playthings.** As children mature, they "graduate" from toy soldiers to toy guns. The M-16 assault rifle made of plastic and painted in camouflage colours is a favourite for the preteen age group. Cartoons animate violent behavior. The "Roadrunner" series is an excellent example of how violent acts are interwoven into cartoons. In other cartoons, make-believe characters fight evil by attacking with weapons, fists, hands, feet, and elbows. **Video games promote and reward superior skills in violence.** If players can destroy the enemy ships, persons, or planes, they are rewarded with an additional free game. Martial arts are used by the hero in his attempt to either rescue the lady or prevent the world from being destroyed.

**THE GENERAL SYSTEMS THEORY BY STRAUS:** The general systems theory views the maintenance of violence as a result of the social system in which families live. It assumes that violence within the family is a result of a *system* rather than individual mental disturbance. This *family system* operates to maintain, increase, or decrease levels of violence within the family. This theory views domestic violence as having many causes, including stereotyped family violence imagery learned in childhood and the fact that these stereotyped images are continually reaffirmed through social and cultural interactions. In fact, violent acts might generate positive feedback—in other words, they might achieve the desired results—leading to a perpetuation of violence.

**SOCIAL CONFLICT THEORY:** This theory addresses the idea that bonding is the glue for communities and families; when the bonds are threatened, people resort to protective behaviours. This theory proposes that unacknowledged alienation and shame generate violence within the family. A theory of escalation is central to this concept and holds that escalation of conflict or violence occurs when anger and shame within a relationship are not acknowledged [thus weakening the bonds].

**THE RESOURCE THEORY:** The resource theory is based on the proposition that the one who controls resources, such as money, property, or prestige, is in the dominant position in a relationship. It holds that the use of violence within a relationship depends on the resources a family member controls. The more resources one commands, the more force or power he can muster. The more resources (social, personal, and economic) a person can command, the more power he or she can potentially call on. The individual who is rich in terms of these resources has less need to use force in an open manner. In contrast, a person with little education, low job prestige and income, or poor interpersonal skills may use violence to compensate for a real or perceived lack of resources and to maintain dominance.

**GENDER AND MASCULINITY THEORY:** Gender role socialization occurs when boys and girls learn what it means to be masculine or feminine in their culture. During early gender identity formation, boys reject the feminine in favour of the more powerful masculine. Efforts to define themselves as masculine may lead to degrading and targeting women for violence. Men apply the **"hegemonic masculinity"** ideals in everyday life. Women perform their feminine role by fulfilling their duties as a wife in a gendered division of power and labour. Although men as a social category control the economic, political and religious institutions in all societies, access to resources is not the same for all men. Due to differences in the availability of resources and their status in the social structure, economically and racially marginalized men will construct masculinity in a different way than middle-class men. **Marginalized men more frequently resort to violence in order to construct a publicly aggressive form of masculinity.** Men demonstrate their social status by various methods such as wealth, knowledge, control over women, verbal and physical threats, and violence. Violence is thus seen as the legitimate way of expressing masculinity and increasing male status.

**FEMINIST THEORY:** Feminism is the belief that women and men should have equal rights and responsibilities. Feminist theories explain gender-based violence linked to the socio-economic and legal structures that traditionally have reinforced male domination and women's dependence on male partners. These theories assert that gender-based violence occurs in social setups that

consider women as subordinate to men. **All feminist theories focus on patriarchy.** **Patriarchy refers to the supremacy of the father over his family members and the domination of men over women and children in every aspect of life and culture.** **Patriarchy is based on two elements:** "**social structures**" that define and reinforce a dominant position for men, and an "**ideology**" that is used to justify such an arrangement. Social structures that produce and sustain the inequality in power relationship between men and women include laws and legal institutions, religious institutions, educational and health systems, and the family. With limited power, women are unable to change this prejudiced power structure. Feminist activists have been endeavouring to improve the women's status through legal and social changes.

# Domestic Laws and NGOs

Domestic violence in Pakistan is an endemic social problem. According to a study carried out in 2009 by **Human Rights Watch**, it is estimated that between 70 and 90 percent of women in Pakistan have suffered some form of abuse. An estimated 5000 women are killed per year from domestic violence, with thousands of others maimed or disabled. The majority of victims of violence have no legal recourse. Law enforcement authorities do not view domestic violence as a crime and usually refuse to register any cases brought to them. Given the very few women's shelters in the country, victims have limited ability to escape from violent situations. Lisa Hajjar, an Associate Professor at the University of California, describes abuse against women in Pakistan as "endemic in all social spheres". In an observational study published in the Pakistan Journal of Medical Sciences based on a convenience sample of 218 women in the gynecology wards of three hospitals, 97% of the interviewed women said they had been victims of some form of assault ranging from verbal abuse or threatened, to being subjected to beatings or non-consensual sex. Cases of women and girls being beaten to death have been recorded, such as that of a 12-year-old girl who was beaten to death by her father and younger brother for failing to make a round roti in October 2015.

(1) **Dowry deaths** have been described by the United Nations as a form of domestic violence. Women are often attacked and murdered if their in-laws deem their dowry to have been insufficient. Amongst dowry-related violence, **bride burnings**, also known as "stove deaths", are widely reported. In 1988 a survey showed that 800 women were killed in this manner, in 1989 the number rose to 1100, and in 1990 it stood at 1800 estimated killings. According to the Progressive Women's Association, such attacks are a growing problem and, in 1994 on International Women's Day, announced that various NGOs would join to raise awareness of the issue. Newspapers in Lahore in a six-month period (1997) reported on average 15 attacks a month. Women's eNews reported that 4,000 women had been attacked in this manner in Islamabad's surroundings over an eight-year period, and that the average age range of victims was between 18 and 35, with an estimated 30 percent being pregnant at the time of death. The **Human Rights Commission of Pakistan** reported that about four women are killed in this manner every day, by either family members or husbands. Shahnaz Bukhari, who runs the Progressive Women's Association in Islamabad, has said of such attacks: "Either Pakistan is home to possessed stoves which burn only young housewives, and are particularly fond of genitalia, or looking at the frequency with which these incidences occur there is a grim pattern that these women are victims of deliberate murder."

(2) **Acid throwing attacks** are extremely violent crimes by which the perpetrators of the crime seek to inflict severe physical and mental suffering on their victims. This form of violence is often inflicted on women. The most common reasons for such attacks are domestic violence, refusal of marriage proposal, denial of sexual advance etc. The acid is usually thrown at the victim's face with the intent of disfiguring the woman in revenge for her refusing the advances of the perpetrator.

Racial and cultural reasons include failure of a girl to bring dowry, political rivalries, and land disputes. Such attacks may also take place during robbery. Acid attacks are premeditated because the perpetrator first obtains the acid, carries it with him/her and stalks the victim before executing the act. The main cause is the absence of proper legislation on acid crimes. Moreover, there is no law to regulate the manufacturing and supply of acids and therefore anyone has easy access to them. **Acid attacks** in Pakistan came to international attention after the release of a documentary by **Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy called Saving Face (2012).** According to ShahnazBukhari, the majority of these attacks occur in the summer when acid is used extensively to soak certain seeds to induce germination. Various reasons have been given for such attacks, such as a woman dressing inappropriately or rejecting a proposal of marriage. The first known instance of an acid attack occurred in East Pakistan in 1967. According to the Acid Survivors Foundation, up to 150 attacks occur every year. The foundation reports that the attacks are often the result in an escalation of domestic abuse, and the majority of victims are female. Acid throwing, also called an acid attack, a vitriol attack or **vitriolage,** is a form of violent assault defined as the act of throwing acid or a similarly corrosive substance onto the body of another "with the intention to disfigure, maim, torture, or kill." Perpetrators of these attacks throw acid at their victims, usually at their faces, burning them, and damaging skin tissue, often exposing and sometimes dissolving the bones. The most common types of acid used in these attacks are sulfuric and nitric acid. Hydrochloric acid is sometimes used, but is much less damaging. The long term consequences of these attacks may include blindness, as well as permanent scarring of the face and body, along with far-reaching social, psychological, and economic difficulties. Today, acid attacks are reported in many parts of the world. Since the 1990s, Bangladesh has been reporting the highest number of attacks and highest incidence rates for women, with 3,512 Bangladeshi people acid attacked between 1999 and 2013. Although acid attacks occur all over the world, including in Europe, this type of violence is mainly concentrated in South Asia. Ⓐ

**The Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act, 2011** (Criminal Law Second Amendment Act, 2011) made amendments in Pakistan Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code to punish perpetrators of acid crimes by clearly including acid crimes in the definition of hurt. The definition now includes "hurt by dangerous means or substance, including any corrosive substance or acid to be crimes". Through an amendment in **Section 336-B of Pakistan Penal code,** Punishment of offenders under this Act can extend up to life imprisonment. The Act makes it mandatory for the offender to pay a fine which may not be less than five hundred thousand rupees. There is also a punishment for unauthorized sellers. This is: on first conviction, an imprisonment of one year or a fine of a hundred thousand rupees or both; on second and subsequent conviction, an imprisonment of two years or a fine of two hundred thousand or both. However, this Act alone is not sufficient to prevent acid crimes. It needs to be accompanied by mechanisms for effective investigation and prosecution. Ⓑ

**The Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act, 2010** Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act was passed in March 2010 for entire Pakistan. It makes sexual harassment of women in the workplace and in public spaces a criminal offence. The objective of this act is to create a safe working environment for women, which is free from harassment, abuse and intimidation to facilitate their right to work with dignity. It will also enable higher productivity and a better quality of life at work. This law is not only restricted to workplaces, it is applicable to all public spheres.

Ⓒ **Sexual Harassment:** Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature that interferes with work, is made a condition of employment or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment constitute sexual harassment. Three significant forms of sexual harassment in the work place are:

- Abuse of authority

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- Creating a hostile environment
- Retaliation

Sexual harassment can take many forms. These include:

- Unwelcome sexual advances
- Demanding sexual favours in exchange for job security
- Verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature
- Rumour spreading and malicious gossip in the work place
- Obstructing performance and/or advancement upon refusal to comply

The work environment for women, in a male-dominated society like Pakistan, is often hostile and antagonistic hindering their contribution to their country's development as well as their right to employment. Various studies have found that social constraints and an aggressive work environment discourage women from seeking employment. To encourage women to join the labour force the government has set a quota for women but often even the minimum quota of 10% remains unfilled. Though women have been working in senior positions and running businesses in the private sector, these have been few in number. However, in recent years, there has been a gradual increase in the number of women working in the government and the private sector despite the obstacles they face. Various forms of discrimination and harassment experienced by women are: At home: discriminating against and demeaning the girl child, deriding the woman working at home, not allowing women to make decisions, and being violent. On the streets: catcalling, touching, teasing and intimidating. On public transportation: touching, pushing, and using vulgar language. In public places: staring, touching, intimidating, behaving aggressively, chasing and being violent. At the work place: leering, staring, making passes, discriminating, abusing authority for sexual favours, flirting, and inflicting violence.

The law requires all public and private organizations to adopt an internal code of conduct aimed at establishing a safe working environment, free of intimidation and abuse, for all working women. This law obligates employers' to set up an Inquiry Committee to investigate a harassment-related complaint. The Committee has to have three members, at least one of whom has to be a woman. The Inquiry Committee shall:

- Launch an investigation against the accused
- Recommend the imposition of penalties if the accused is found guilty
- Forward recommendation to the Competent Authority which will implement the decision

Punishments can range from censure, stopping promotion, compulsory retirement, removal/dismissal from service, and fine payable to the complainant. The Act also provides for the appointment of an Ombudsman both at the Federal and Provincial level to listen to appeals filed by the aggrieved party. The victim can also appeal to the President or the Governor if dissatisfied by the decision of the Ombudsman. Amendment to Section 509 of the Pakistan Penal Code, 1860, clearly defines harassment and recognises it as a crime. This section has increased the maximum punishment for this offence to imprisonment which may extend to three years or a fine of up to five hundred thousand rupees or both.

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## Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act 2006

Pakistan parliament passed Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act 2006 which brought in several amendments in the Zina Ordinance 1979 and removed offence of rape from its ambit. Complaint of Zina continue to be lodged under Hudood Ordinance and can only be launched if in addition to the complainant four adult male Muslim eyewitnesses testify before the court of competent jurisdiction. Punishment of stoning for a married Muslim offender for Zina has

been retained in law. For unmarried Muslim and non-Muslim (married or unmarried) punishment is 100 stripes at a public place.

**Section 375:** Pakistan Penal Code provides a comprehensive definition of rape to include not only forcing a woman but also making her agree under fear. Rape also includes intercourse with a girl who is under sixteen years of age.

**Section 376:** Punishment: Rape is punishable with death or imprisonment for not less than ten years or more than twenty-five years and shall also be liable to fine. When rape is committed by two or more persons, each of such persons shall be punished with death or imprisonment for life.

**Section 402D** prohibits the Provincial Government from interfering in rape sentences by suspending, remitting or commuting any sentence passed under section 376 of the Pakistan Penal Code.

## Prevention of Anti-Women Practices Act, 2011

The Prevention of Anti-Women Practices (Criminal Law Amendment) Act 2011 prohibits several oppressive and discriminatory customs practiced towards women in Pakistan which are not only against the dignity of women, but also violate human rights and are contrary to Islamic injunctions. These customary practices are used, specifically against women, in order to exert control over them, discriminate against them, infringe upon their basic rights and to manipulate them. The law has also constantly been manipulated to overlook these practices as 'crimes' and therefore allowing perpetrators to go free. Customary practices that are criminalized under this Act include:

i) • Giving a female in marriage or otherwise in badla-e sulh, wanni or swara
ii) • Depriving women from inheriting property
iii) • Forced marriages
iv) • Marriage with the Holy Quran

**Swara [custom]** is a child marriage custom in tribal areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is tied to blood feuds among the different tribes and clans where young girls are forcibly married to members of different clans in order to resolve the feuds. It is most common among Pashtuns. Swara is also known as Sak, Vani and Sangchatti in different regional languages of Pakistan. Under section 310-A, there shall be punishment for giving a female in marriage or otherwise in badla-e sulh, wanni or swara or any other custom or practice under any name in consideration of settling a civil dispute or a criminal liability, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years but shall not be less than three years and shall also be liable to a fine of five hundred thousand rupees.

Under section 498 A, depriving women from inheriting property by deceitful or illegal means shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to ten years but not be less than five years or with a fine of one million rupees or both.

Under section 498 B, forced marriages are ten years maximum and three years minimum of jail term along with a fine of five hundred thousand rupees.

Under section 498C, forcing, arranging or facilitating a woman's marriage with the Holy Quran is punishable with a jail term of maximum seven and minimum three years, along with a fine of five hundred thousand rupees.

## Punjab Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act 2015

The Child Marriage Restraint (Punjab Amendment) Ordinance, 1971 has been amended by the "Punjab Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act 2015. It updates the definition of the Union Council, increases the terms of imprisonment and fines, and increases the powers of the Family Court.

**Section 4. Punishment for male adult above eighteen years of age marrying a child:** Whoever, being a male above eighteen years of age, contracts child marriage shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to fifty thousand rupees, or with both.

**Section 5. Punishment for solemnizing a child marriage:** whoever performs, conducts or directs any child marriage shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to six month, or with fine which may extend to fifty thousand rupees, or with both, unless he proves that he had reason to believe that the marriage was not a child marriage.

**Section 6. Punishment for parent or guardian concerned in a child marriage:** simple imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to fifty thousand rupees, or with both, provided that no woman shall be punishable with imprisonment.

**Section 9. Mode of taking cognizance of offence:** No Court shall take cognizance of any offence under this Act after the expiry of one year from the date on which the offence is alleged to have been committed.

## Women in Distress and Detention Fund Act 2010

Women in Distress and Detention Fund provides financial and legal assistance to women in distress and detention. This fund allows upto Rs. 10,000 for legal aid, bail and other support to the following categories of deserving women:

- Women in detention (under trial, convicted or in Darul Aman) for books, payment of stipend or women assigned teaching jobs. It also provides funds to women in cases of extreme hardship for purposes of rehabilitation
- Disabled Women
- Deserving women suffering from serious ailments including mental ailment or who are in distress and need medical aid
- Burn cases
- Distressed women and their minor children in need of shelter
- Women seriously maltreated by their husbands
- Similar cases of grave distress and
- Legal help to women in detention or distress

**Source: The Punjab Commission on the Status of Women**

**HONOUR KILLINGS in Pakistan are known locally as karo-kari.** An honour killing is the homicide of a member of a family or social group by other members, due to the belief the victim has brought dishonour upon the family or community. The death of the victim is viewed as a way to restore the reputation and honour of the family. Originally, karo and kari were metaphoric terms for adulterer and adulteress, but it has come to be used with regards to multiple forms of perceived immoral behavior. Once a woman is labeled as a kari, family members consider themselves to be authorized to kill her and the co-accused karo in order to restore family honour. In the majority of cases, the victim of the attacks is female with her attackers being male members

of her family or community. An Amnesty International report noted "the failure of the authorities to prevent these killings by investigating and punishing the perpetrators."

**INTERNATIONAL ACTIVISM:** Human rights are natural rights, fundamentally ensured to every human, regardless of nationality, race, gender, or ethnic group. Through the ongoing work of the United Nations, the universality of human rights has been clearly established and recognized in international law. In March 1996, Pakistan ratified the CEDAW, or the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. By ratifying CEDAW, Pakistan promises to abolish discriminatory laws and establish tribunals and public institutions to effectively protect women. CEDAW, as a human rights treaty, notably targets culture and tradition as contributing factors to gender-based discrimination. In 1993, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, entreating states not to invoke custom, tradition, or religious consideration to avoid their obligation to eliminate violence against women.

**PAKISTANI ACTIVISM:** AsmaJehangir, chairperson of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, and Hina Jilani are Pakistani lawyers reinvigorating civil society to become critical of the Pakistani state's failure to ensure fair rights and benefits to its female citizenry. Jehangir and Jilani founded Pakistan's first legal aid center in 1986 and a women's shelter called Dastak in 1991 for women fleeing from violence. **In June 2016, the Council of Islamic Ideology decreed that "honour killings are un-Islamic".** On December 8, 2004 Pakistan enacted a law that made honour killings punishable by a prison term of seven years, or by the death penalty in the most extreme cases. In March 2005, the Pakistani parliament rejected a bill which sought to strengthen the law against the practice of honour killing declaring it to be un-Islamic. The bill was eventually passed in November 2006. However, doubts of its effectiveness remained. **In 2016, Pakistan repealed the loophole which allowed the perpetrators of honour killings to avoid punishment by seeking forgiveness for the crime from another family member, and thus be legally pardoned.**

**Factors** Various factors are associated with domestic violence in Pakistan. Poverty, illiteracy and social taboos are considered the main reasons for domestic violence in the country. A lack of awareness about women's rights and a lack of support from the government have been cited as two reasons. Another factor given for the rise in domestic violence has been due to increased urbanization. As people move from villages and increasingly live apart from an extended family, assaults are less likely to be prevented by the intervention of family members, who in past times often intervened in domestic conflicts. Another reason given for abuses is patriarchy in Pakistani society, which marginalizes women's role. In some traditional societies, a man is considered to have the right to physically beat his spouse. According to Rahel Nardos, it is "the dual constructs of women as the property of men and as the standard-bearers of a family's honour set the stage for culturally sanctioned forms of violence". Women have reported attacks ranging from physical to psychological and sexual abuse from partners, in-laws and family members. In 1998 of 1974 reported murders the majority of victims were killed by either family members or in-laws. A survey carried out by the Thomson Reuters Foundation ranked Pakistan as the third most dangerous country in the world for women, after Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of Congo; it is followed by India and Somalia.

**Political response:** In 1976 the Pakistani government passed legislation on dowry and bridal gifts in an attempt to eliminate the custom but, because of cultural and societal norms combined with government ineffectiveness, such killings over inadequate dowries continue. In 1999 the Senate of Pakistan rejected a resolution which would have condemned the practice of murdering women for the sake of family honour. The following year, on 21 April 2000, the national government leader Pervez Musharraf declared that honour killings were "vigorously condemned" by the government and would be treated as murder. The Ministry of Women Development set up

ten crisis centres to help the victims of domestic violence and raise the awareness level of the people on this issue. In 2011 the Senate passed the **Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Bill** to repress acid attacks in the country; the senate also passed the prevention of anti-women practices bill. In 2009 a Domestic Violence Protection bill was proposed by Yasmeen Rehman of the Pakistan People's Party. It was passed in the National Assembly but subsequently failed to be passed in the second chamber of parliament, the Senate, within the prescribed period of time. The Council of Islamic Ideology objected to the bill, claiming that in its current form it will increase divorces and argued that the bill considered women and children the only victims of domestic violence, ignoring elderly and weak men. The Council claimed that the punishments suggested by the bill were already enacted by other laws and suggested lack of action on these laws as the reason for increase in domestic violence. After the passage of Eighteenth constitutional amendment, the matter pertaining to the bill became a provincial issue. It was re-tabled in 2012, but met with a deadlock in parliament because of stiff opposition from the religious right. Representatives of Islamic organizations vowed resistance to the proposed bill, describing it as "anti-Islamic" and an attempt to promote "Western cultural values" in Pakistan. They asked for the bill to be reviewed before being approved by the parliament. The bill was passed for Islamabad Capital Territory. Source: Wikipedia.

**Punjab Protection of Women Against Violence Act 2016:** It introduces for the first time an in-built implementation mechanism through the district Violence Against Women Centres (VAWCs), court orders (residence, protection and monetary), introduction of GPS tracked electronic bracelets-anklets to enforce protection orders and power to enter any place to rescue the women victims. It also encompasses cyber crime, domestic violence, emotional, economic and psychological abuse within the ambit of 'violence against women' crimes. The stated aim is to ensure justice to women victims and to empower them, placing them on an equal footing with the male population. The bill stands out, as compared to previously passed bills, on domestic violence as it also provides civil remedies -- protection, residence and/or monetary order -- for all the offences it covers. This is in addition to, and not contradictory to or abrogating, the existing laws on violence against women crimes. Through a residence order, the victim has a right to stay in the house if she doesn't want to vacate it or the defendant has to provide an alternative accommodation to the victim if she wants so. Further, if she is being harassed or stalked, she can claim a protection order which ordains the defendant to not communicate with her or stay a certain distance from her. In addition, the victim can also seek monetary relief from the defendant to meet expenses occurred and losses suffered through monetary orders in this bill. Provisions exist to punish acts of domestic violence and other VAW crimes in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC), however the issue lies in the implementation of these sections. Women victims of violence currently have to go through a snake-and-ladder game for merely getting a case registered. This bill aims to solve the problem of FIRs registration through establishment of 24-hour women-run VAWCs where the case-flow process would be streamlined by bringing all the needed facilities under one roof - first aid, police reporting, FIR lodging, prosecution, medical examination, forensics and post-trauma rehabilitation. Besides, the centres will provide facilities like legal assistance, immediate protection to the aggrieved, evidence collection within due time to facilitate investigation, audio-visual record of all actions. They will initiate VAW cases, establish a toll-free helpline, mediate between the aggrieved and the defendant for non-cognizable offenses if requested by the victim, and act as community centres to guide women in all government-related inquiries. A 'District Women Protection Committee' will supervise the centres and shelter homes, ensuring that all VAW cases registered in any of the district's police stations are referred to these centres. The District Women Protection Officer (DWPO) will have power to enter any place to rescue the aggrieved with her consent. The officer can also file a habeas corpus case on the basis of any credible information of wrongful confinement of an aggrieved person. Under this legislation, the aggrieved or any authorised person or the DWPO can submit a complaint to the court to obtain civil remedies. Several penalties (imprisonment and/or fine) have been laid out in the Bill,

including those for obstructing a protection officer, filing a false complaint and breach of court orders or tampering with the GPS tracked system. Source: Dawn.

## Women's Protection Bill — A case of men's insecurities

Pakistan ranks as the third most dangerous country for women to live in. Why? Consider this: Every day in Punjab, at least six women are raped, another 11 assaulted, and 32 abducted for various reasons, according to a report published by the Law and Order wing of the Special Monitoring Unit (SMU). To sum up the report's findings, at least 60 women are subjected to violence every day in Punjab alone. The figure does not account for the multitude of cases that go unreported, or are covered up by the woman's family due to social stigma. **Aurat Foundation** estimates that 8,500 women face violation in the country every year— the majority of these cases are of domestic violence, which takes place inside the home. But despite the alarmingly high incidents of violence against women, religious and political parties and members of the law fraternity are vehemently rejecting the recently passed Punjab Protection of Women against Violence Act 2016, and are terming it "contrary to Islamic teachings."

## Insecurity #1: 'Strong women weaken society'
"The clauses in this bill will eventually lead to the break-up of society," claims Maulana Sherani of the Council for Islamic Ideology (CII).

## Why should women suffer?
But lawmakers at the Punjab Assembly say that incidents of domestic violence are much higher than reported— the number, they claim, is at least three or four times higher than what we know. They feel the Act is a positive step forward, as men who torture, rape and assault women will now have a legal deterrence to deal with. According to these lawmakers the Act is being misinterpreted.

## Insecurity #2: 'Why should a man wear a bracelet?'
Another prominent clause in the bill which has received widespread criticism is the use of an electronic monitoring device. Women lawmakers of the Punjab Assembly clarify that the tracking devices will only be used for men who are found involved in heinous crimes and in perpetrating violence against women. The clause states that if the Court finds a person guilty of committing violence against the aggrieved, the Court can issue an order that requires the perpetrator to "wear ankle or wrist bracelet GPS tracker for any act of grave violence or likely grave violence which may endanger the life, dignity or reputation of the aggrieved person." The devices will allow authorities to keep track of his whereabouts, and will help prevent him from going near the woman.

**No previous laws protecting women:** Those against this Act feel that lawmakers could simply have made amendments to previous bills instead of introducing a new one. However, proponents of the Act assert that the 2016 Act provides civil remedies such as protection orders, residence orders and monitory orders. Lawmakers in the Punjab Assembly feel that the new Act fills in loopholes left ignored by previous laws. According to them, when a woman went to a police station after being tortured by her husband, the police would ask her to go back to her house and settle the issue on her own since it was a personal matter. In rape cases women face severe humiliation at police stations, where officials put forth all sorts of bizarre questions. Rape cases also require a medical examination to be done within 72 hours— but since this procedure is neither followed nor addressed by enforcement agencies, the lack of physical evidence often makes a survivor's case weak. Human rights activists assert that in the past, a case was only registered when a woman was physically tortured; now, even mental torture is considered a punishable crime. And that if men have reservations against the bill, they simply have to change their behaviour and stop torturing women; family norms do not have to be affected.

The most important aspect under the new bill is the implementation of the ____ and protection system. Everything will be under one roof. As an initial step, the Punjab government is establishing Violence Against Women Centers (VAWC) across the province. These will be one-stop operations where women will be taken through the process of filing a First Investigation Report (FIR) provided medical help and if required, shelter. A toll-free number has also been set up where women can call seeking help, or can get information via the phone if they are unable to come to the Center. Women can also request rescue teams if needed, especially if there are barriers imposed upon their communication with the VAWC. Under the new bill, protection and mediation will be the job of government-recognised committees, where the issue between two parties will be solved in the presence of local community leaders, police officials, doctors, psychologists and even family members. Women can face up to 12 to 18 months in prison, in addition to a fine of Rs100,000 to Rs200,000 if they are found to have misreported a case. **Excerpts from Dawn. May 12, 2016.**

**Dowry: An abnormal norm** The custom has in fact been inherited from the subcontinent with its historical origin being traced to high caste Hindu marriages in North India. The practice was further reinforced during the **colonial times**, when women were prohibited from owning any property thereby an institution of greed was formed whereby the incoming bride was seen as a source of wealth. In a society, where excessive income inequality is rampant, dowry is sometimes seen as a means of competition for successful, wealthy husbands. It is also considered compensation to the groom and his family for receiving a bride who is an economic liability. Studies have shown that in rural areas of Pakistan, higher amounts of dowry are linked to a better status for the bride in the marital family, consequently putting greater pressure on those who do not bring enough assets with them. The custom has reinforced the perception of females being a lifelong liability and the need for saving up for a daughter's marriage, which can also contribute towards female feticide. One may argue that dowry is a form of pre-mortem inheritance for the bride, transferring a share of parental property to her marital household, as it is highly unlikely for her to get a share after marriage, to which she is legally entitled. In order to avoid goods being exchanged with outsiders and to remain within families, consanguineous marriages are therefore often encouraged. Dowry may not necessarily be given under duress, women might themselves demand for it before entering marriage. It may be seen as a support mechanism for helping the new couple in starting their married life. However, it most certainly does not represent agency or freedom on the part of women, and should not be seen as a form of property inheritance as the goods are transferred from one family to the other, not to the bride herself. In the case of financially weak households, it may often lead to indebtedness as well. In recent years, the intensification of the custom has been seen as a consequence of rising consumerism and materialism where dowry is seen more as an issue of self-abnegation. Consumerism has not only led to greed, but also rising competitiveness when it comes to dowries between households, with families falling prey to their own competitiveness. Interestingly, Pakistani law under **The Dowry and Bridal Gifts (Restriction) Act 1976 [Amended in 2016]** restricts the amount spent on dowry to not exceed more than rupees "fifty thousand in urban areas and twenty thousand in rural areas, the violation of which can lead to cash fines or even imprisonment of at least six months. However all legal, political or social actions have so far proven to be futile in discouraging the practice of dowry. Clearly, the preventive legal steps taken against dowry are not sufficient to eliminate the practice. The fact that there is no way of documenting the dowry based violence cases and no statistics related to them is a testimonial for how dowry violence is not taken seriously in the Pakistani context. For a country that passed a somewhat quixotic law concerning food serving at weddings and managed even to implement it, the utter lack of effective regulations for the giving of dowry presents a dichotomy in itself. With a tradition that is so deeply entrenched in our society, it is difficult for the bride's family to propose a dowry free wedding. The social system of the country is not only virilocal and patrilineal in nature but also patriarchal hence it essentially places the primary responsibility of discontinuing the act on the groom and his family. The issue

requires multi-sectoral support and collaboration in order to generate awareness amongst masses, and greater sensitization on the topic in order for its prevention to take place. **Source: Nation.**

## ALL PAKISTAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

The All Pakistan Women's Association [APWA] is a non-profit and non-political Pakistani organisation whose fundamental aim is the furtherance of the moral, social and economic welfare of the women of Pakistan. It was founded in 1949 by **Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan**, a famous activist for women's rights, who said that the role of women is no less important than that of men. Zubeida Habib was also the dedicated member of this association. APWA has been a very active organisation since its foundation. It celebrates major events such as International Women's Day, UN Day and UNICEF Day annually, and is a charity organisation which relies on donations to fund its work. APWA received the UNESCO Adult Literacy Prize in 1974 and later the Peace Messenger Certificate in 1987. APWA enjoys consultative status with the Government of Pakistan, and is internationally affiliated with many organisations, such as: General Federation of Women Club, International Alliance of Women, and PPSEAWA. APWA offers programs in:

- Mother and child health services.
- Nutrition Programmes
- Montessori/Primary Education
- Adult education/Literacy
- Social Education
- Population Planning Programme
- Legal Aid.
- Skill Training.
- R H Education.
- Adolescents Programmes.

**WOMEN'S ACTION FORUM** is a women's rights organization in Pakistan. Women's Action Forum came was established in Karachi in 1981 to respond to the implementation of the Hudood Ordinance penal code and to strengthen women's position in society generally. The women in the forum, most of whom came from elite families, perceived that many of the laws proposed by the President Zia-ul-Haq's government were discriminatory and would compromise their civil status.

**AURAT FOUNDATION** is a women's rights organization based in Islamabad, Pakistan. Aurat Foundation does active lobbying and advocacy on behalf of women. It also holds demonstrations and public-awareness campaigns. Aurat Foundation [AF] has four regional offices in the provincial capitals (Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar and Quetta). Further, AF has a countrywide network of voluntary citizens' groups and individual activists. These groups include Citizens Action Committees (CACs), Resource Groups and Aurat Foundation Resource Centres (AF-RCs) and Information Network Centres (INCs). AF is a civil society organisation working for women's empowerment and citizens' rights with the collaboration of citizens' groups and organisations to provide information, build capacity and undertake advocacy for women's issues and for good governance in Pakistan.

**BLUE VEINS** is based in Peshawar, Pakistan. It is a women's health advocacy group that has dedicated itself to providing medical information to poor and rural women in Pakistan.

# How to combat violence?

**PUNISHMENT:** The classical theorists in criminology viewed individuals as acting as a res[ult of] free will and as being motivated by "hedonism": the main purpose of life is to maximize ple[asure] while minimizing pain. Deterrence theorists, neo-classical theorists, portray humans as rati[onal] pleasure-seeking, pain-avoiding creatures. This assumption leads to a relatively simple theo[ry of] crime: People will engage in criminal behaviour when it brings them pleasure [generates rew[ards] and carries little risk of pain. Consequently, formal punishment has the potential to reduce c[rime.] The idea that punishing offenders will deter the rest of society is termed "general deterre[nce."] Moreover, offenders who feel the pain of punishment should be less likely to reoffend in the fu[ture.] This is the principle of "specific deterrence". Punishment is most effective when it is swift, cer[tain] and severe enough to outweigh the potential rewards of criminal behaviour. Deterrence th[eory] focuses on formal punishment [arrest, prison] rather than informal controls. But certain[ty of] punishment is more important than severity of punishment. Justice should not be delayed. Vi[olent] crime declines when the certainty of getting punished increases. Thus, in order to combat viole[nce] it is imperative that the victims of violence should be provided speedy justice and the perpetra[tors] of violence must be given appropriate punishment in accordance with the laws passed to co[ntrol] various crimes as discussed earlier.

**EDUCATION:** Punishment alone won't suffice. Minds have to be changed as well. We live [in a] patriarchal society where illiteracy is rampant. Ours is a feudal society that considers women t[o be] objects. It is true that changes come slowly but in Pakistan the change is too slow. We do not sp[end] much on education because our politicians have no interest in providing quality education to [the] people. Our politicians need votes to form a government. So they are least bothered whe[ther] education spreads or not. Although laws have been passed to prevent violence against women, [it is] the mindset that needs to be changed; it is the socialization that matters most. And that will c[ome] only through education. Informal social control is always more effective than formal social cont[rol.]

**ECONOMY:** Pakistan's economy is still in a shambles. Corruption, terrorism, energy crisis, [and] crime are the major stumbling blocks. If economy is weak, women will suffer the most. W[ith] economic prosperity and with education, women can improve their financial condition.

**MEDIA:** Media are strong agents of socialization and can play a great role in the formatio[n of] public opinion. There have been television plays regarding violence against women crea[ting] awareness among the general masses. Such plays can help in curtailing violence but there sh[ould] be analytical debates as well regarding the subject.

**Also see Women in Pakistan [Wikipedia]**

# Chapter 6

# Gender inequality

## Objectives

- Understand why women do not participate as voters, candidates, or representatives in the politics of Pakistan.
- Know why women in Pakistan are uneducated and how it suits our feudal and patriarchal society.
- Explain the causes behind the poor health facilities available for women in Pakistan.
- Describe the ways media portray women in a stereotypical manner.

# Gender and Politics in Pakistan

Politics is how people use power to make something happen. Today, politics is male-dominated in every country. Men hold the majority of political offices, and they have a disproportionate impact on laws, policies, judicial opinions, and everyday political decisions.

Democracy is more than voting. Its basic principles include rule by the majority with protection of the rights of individuals, freedom of expression and belief, and the rule of law. A recent study found that nearly half of the 100 countries surveyed still gave women fewer political and economic rights than men. Political power continues to be gendered.

Pakistan has been encountering political instability ever since its independence. Pakistan has witnessed unconstitutional regimes as well. Although there is a democratic government at present in Pakistan, the democratic institutions are fragile. The strength of a democratic state is an educated and enlightened electorate. According to the Economic Survey of Pakistan 2015-16, Pakistan's literacy rate is 60%. It means that uneducated people form a significant part of the population, and so are unaware of the true meaning of democracy and constitutional rights.

- Being a feudal, tribal, and patriarchal society, women in Pakistan are more backward.
- Women are less educated and oblivious of the political and economic significance of a strong democratic state.
- In a sexist and male-dominated culture as in Pakistan, women are hardly allowed to leave their homes. Politics is considered to be the realm of men. It is considered odd for women to participate in politics.

As a result, they cannot participate in the political system as voters or representatives. With more than half the population, women should have played a major role in strengthening democracy in Pakistan. Unfortunately this is not so.

It is true that in the elections of 2013, the percentage of female voters augmented, and the media played a pivotal role in that, but still the female participation in politics is trivial. **Poverty is another factor for the lack of political interest.** Poor people care for their own bread and butter, and have no interest in the political system as to who gets elected or who comes to power. With more than a third of the population living below the poverty line having almost no interest in the democratic system, democracy in Pakistan remains weak. Even if poor people do vote they hardly vote rationally; they vote on 'baradari' basis. Casting vote needs a judicious and rational decision, but majority of our people especially women have no choice of their own. They vote those whom they are asked to, not those they would have wished to if they were educated. Representatives in parliament represent the ones who voted for them, and it is their obligation to work for the welfare of the public. Although, females are more than half the population, the female representatives in Pakistan's parliament are far less in strength.

Power is linked to politics. Politics is how people use power to make something happen. Today, politics is male-dominated in every country. Power is a basic element in the social fabric, and people possess it in the varying degrees according to the social categories they occupy. Max Weber, the sociologist, defined power as the likelihood a person may achieve personal ends despite resistance from others. But power is not just coercive; it can also be legitimate and called 'authority'. When power becomes encoded into law, it is legitimized. Women as a group are at a distinct legal disadvantage when both power and authority are concerned. In virtually all job categories, women are rewarded less than men in terms of money and prestige. In a family, women

have less importance in decision making. Women have limited political and legal power. Social stratification is based on differential power, which in turn underlies all inequality. Inequality between the genders persists because the power base that women possess is more circumscribed than that of men. Restrictions in terms of political power and legal authority are at the core of inequality.

Changing the law to reflect equality and justice regarding gender is linked to two key factors: understanding how gendered perceptions influence voters, and increasing the number of women in office who address women's concerns through social policy. Once the law is changed, interpretation and enforcement must be consistent with gender equality. This also assumes that the women who serve in their political roles view issues related to gender differently than men.

Women legislators have a major impact on the extent to which women's interests are represented in state policy. Compared to their male colleagues, women legislators are more supportive of policies providing access to services for traditionally disadvantaged groups. However, women represent only a small percentage of political elites who wield power in Pakistan.

Women are more than 50% of Pakistan's population, and it is thus logical that they should have female representatives in the Parliament who can work to safeguard the rights of women. Women are bound to suffer if they have less representation. As voters, women should actively participate in the electoral process. Their vote is tremendously precious. The electoral outcome depends on their casting votes. There are many barriers, however. These barriers include illiteracy, patriarchy, and a conservative, feudal environment. Of course, these barriers are more in villages, but in cities too, women voters are quite less. Some educated women do not vote because of lethargy or because they finding voting useless as the political system is corrupt according to them. Whatever the reasons, there is great importance of exercising franchise. This is the only way we can choose good leaders and strengthen democracy. As candidates, women participation is meagre. Political parties give less tickets to women as women are not much popular as politicians as men are. Politics is considered to be a dirty game and so women are reluctant to contest the elections. Women want to avoid mud-slinging and character assassination. Apart from this, politics is an expensive game. So, poverty is another hindrance. Mostly, women with rich family backgrounds participate in politics. Again, the conservative, patriarchal, feudal and tribal society of Pakistan is the major stumbling block. Women being economically dependent on men cannot afford to participate in elections.

**AMERICAN WOMEN IN OFFICE:** The 1992 election in America was heralded as the "Year of the Woman", with sharp increases in women being elected officials throughout the United States. Reagan was criticized for being the first president in a decade who failed to appoint more women to high-level federal posts than his immediate predecessor. Nonetheless, Reagan can be credited as the first president to appoint a women, Sandra Day O'Connor, as a justice to the Supreme Court. Clinton appointed four women to cabinet-level positions, including Attorney General Janet Reno and Secretary of State Madeline Albright, two of the most powerful posts in the nation. He also appointed Ruth Bader Ginsberg, an advocate for women's rights, to the Supreme Court. Jimmy Carter was the first president to stress diversity on the bench, with 34 percent of judicial appointees being women and minority males. Bush's most prominent woman appointee was Condoleezza Rice, first as National Security Advisor and later as Secretary of State.

## BARRIERS TO FEMALE CANDIDATES:

**SOCIALIZATION FACTORS:** Socialization into gender roles may impede political participation for women. If politics demands a self-serving style and a high degree of competitiveness to be effective, men have the advantage. Women in public office appear to be more public spirited and oriented to broader principles rather than to narrower issues. Although politicians are expected to have higher moral standards than those who elected them to public office, women are expected to

be higher than men in this regard. Female politicians are often viewed as interlopers in a political realm dominated by men. Others believe that women will be elected to public office because of disillusionment with morally corrupt male politicians. Although in the long run it works more to women's political disadvantage, the stereotype of the trustworthy woman may be used to gain political office.

**BELIEFS ABOUT WOMEN'S ROLES:** Another barrier to women in politics is beliefs about marriage and motherhood. Women must contend with potential disapproval if the public believes children and husbands are being neglected in the quest for public office. Male candidates begin their political ascent sooner in their careers than women.

**MOTHERHOOD AND HUSBANDS:** Even high profile women often wait until their children are grown to reduce the risk of being labeled "neglectful mothers." In the American Election 2008, Hillary Clinton was absolved of the motherhood mandate in the media; Sarah Palin was not. A woman must also be mindful of the relationship with her husband, who may be unwilling or unprepared to deal with his wife's candidacy. Husbands play vital, supportive roles in promoting their wives' campaigns, but cultural beliefs about masculinity and dominance may prevent men from enthusiastically carrying out such activities. Irrespective of political party, women must face questions about their appearance, marital status, and household responsibilities that are rarely asked of men.

**STRUCTURAL BARRIERS:** Educational barriers still remain in women's quest for public office. Women are less educated than men in Pakistan. Compared to men, women are also less likely to have the economic resources needed to run for public office. Male candidates not only have more money, but are also much more likely to be bankrolled in campaigns by affluent wives. Celebrities in the fields of sport and entertainment [American President Ronald Reagan, Governor of California Arnold Schwarzenegger] have risen to high political offices. Such occupations offer opportunities for developing communication skills, and substantial income, thus serving as training grounds for future politicians. Thus, there are financial and social effects of occupational segregation on women. Politically, such segregation hampers women from being recruited as candidates.

# Gender and Health in Pakistan

Members of society need above everything, health. A healthy nation can work hard to make itself strong and prosperous. Malnourished and physically weak people are not able to work hard. Not only the families suffer, but also the nation as a whole. Adequate food and nutrition are essential from conception to adulthood for proper growth, physical development, optimal work capacity, and normal reproductive performance. **Protein Energy Malnutrition [PEM]** stunts growth and impedes physiological maturity. In Pakistan, most women suffer from malnutrition that can contribute to maternity-related complications and infant deaths. **WHO recommends food with 2250 calories a day.** Women have to undergo both reproductive and productive roles. Iron deficiency leads to anaemia, making pregnancy and delivery high-risk and life-threatening for women. Since women constitute more than 50% of Pakistan's population, they should be healthy if they are to play a pivotal role in the nation's prosperity and reconstruction. Health is wealth goes the famous statement. It is quite unfortunate that a majority of our population does not have access to clean, potable water. Contaminated water is a basic cause of numerous diseases. Women are more unfortunate as they live in a patriarchal society where there is discrimination in the allocation of household resources such as food. Women, being illiterate, are unaware about health issues. Another very important factor

contributing to bad women health is the husbands' preference for sons. Women have almost no choice in birth of the children. Thus, a woman's health deteriorates as she gives birth to more and more children, considering that she is already malnourished. Moreover, in rural areas, over 80% deliveries occur at home that may lead to infections. Since, there is preference for a son, it leads to **female infanticide** and sex-selective abortion. Women turn to traditional practitioners for abortions, procedures that are unsafe. Our government hospitals are also not hygienic, and women may be infected during deliveries or develop complications. A weak, malnourished mother is always at the risk of miscarriage as well. Corruption in health department as well as less funds allocation are among the factors are the contributing factors in poor women health.

# Gendered Media

Mass media do affect most people's opinions, identities, choices, and lives. Media scholar Douglas Kellner (1995) notes that media provide us with "models of what it means to be male or female". From newspapers and television programmes to video games and online communities, media share our understandings of gender. By presenting us with images of women, men, and relationships, media advance ideals of what is desirable in women and men. In addition, media shape our perspectives on people, events, and issues. A more sophisticated approach to media influence is **agenda setting**, which claims media set the public agenda by telling us what's important. Mass media have the ability to direct audience's attention to particular issues, events, and people. Media don't necessarily tell us what to think, but they do tell us what to think about-- which issues, events, and people merit our attention. A story on the front page of the newspaper seems more important than one on an inside page; the lead story on the evening news strikes us as more significant than a story covered at the end of the programme; an issue that is discussed on multiple blogs and chat rooms seems more consequential than an issue mentioned only a few times. The term **gatekeeper** refers to the people [such as reporters and editors] that control which messages get through to audiences of mass media. The gatekeepers shape our perceptions by deciding which stories to feature, how to represent issues and events, and how to depict women and men. By selectively regulating what we see, the news media influence how we perceive movements about gender and gender itself. In the early days of radical feminism, media portrayed feminists as man-hating, bra-burning extremists. We'll focus on three aspects of how media portray the sexes. First, media under-represent women, as well as minorities. Second, both sexes are portrayed primarily in stereotypical ways that reflect conventional views of gender. Whether it is prime-time television, children's programmes, or newscasts, males outnumber females. Front pages of newspapers have more stories and photos about men than women. In big box office films, women are underrepresented. Roughly 70% of major characters in top-grossing films are males. The majority of men on prime-time television are independent, aggressive, and in charge. Television programmes depict men as serious, confident, competent, and powerful popular films such as Fight Club, Armageddon, and Gladiator exalt extreme stereotypes of masculinity: hard, tough, independent, sexually aggressive, unafraid, violent, totally in control of all emotions, and-- above all--in no way feminine. Media offer us some more complex portrayals of men--portrayals in which male characters combine qualities traditionally associated with masculinity and qualities traditionally associated with femininity. Toby Maguire, who starred in the Spiderman movies, was kind and gentle when not ousting evildoers. Megastars such as Denzel Washington and Tom Hanks have appeared as caring, sensitive men in many movies.

**MEDIA PORTRAY WOMEN STEREOTYPICALLY:** Media continue to portray girls and women primarily in ways consistent with traditional stereotypes. Media portray females engaged in domestic activities whereas male characters are shown working, building, and fighting. The most

traditional stereotype is women as sex object, and that continues to dominate media. Highly sexu portrayals of women and, increasingly girls, of all races pervade programmes, advertising, a music videos. The feminine ideal is young and extremely thin preoccupied with men and childre and enmeshed in relationships of housework. Music videos predominantly show women wi impossibly perfect bodies, which have often been digitally altered, who are subservient to me Traditional views of femininity even find their way into news shows, where female newscasters a young attractive, and less outspoken than males. Media sexualization of women and gir has reached new levels. The highly sexualized portrayals of women have led some med commentators to refer to the pornification of mainstream media. Media portray two opposi pictures of women: good and bad. Good women are pretty, deferential, faithful; focused on hom and family, subordinate to men; usually cast as victims, angles, martyrs, and loyal helpmate Media also offer us the "bad women"--the opposite of the "good women". Versions of this imag are the witch, bitch, and whore. In children's literature, we encounter witches and mea stepmothers as bad women and beautiful, passive females like Snow white and Sleeping Beauty a good women.

**GENDERED ADVERTISING**: The stereotypical portrayals of women and men we have discusse appear not only in stories and programmes but also in advertising. There are several reasons wh advertising's influence on our views of women and men may be even more powerful than that o programmed media content. First, advertisements on TV, in magazines, on billboards, and so fort are repeated multiple times, so we are exposed repeatedly to the messages. Second, a majority o ads emphasize visual images, which are less subject to conscious analysis than verbal claims Third, advertising can affect us significantly because we think we're immune to it. Although man people think they don't buy a particular brand of jeans because of ads, research suggest differently--ads do affect what people purchase and what they consider attractive, feminine, and masculine. We buy not just products but the images that advertisers sell us Advertising generally portrays men as independent, successful, engaged in activities, and strong In some ads, males appear angry--often on the roles of rebels against authority. The men in ads tend to have muscular bodies, perfect hair and skin, and brilliantly white teeth. The message to men is that this is the ideal of masculinity. Advertising directed at men often links products with hyper-masculinity and violence. For example, leading brands of condoms bear the names of ancient warriors (Trojans) and kings (Ramses). Athletes are used to advertise yogurt, deodorant, and if a star athlete will eat yogurt, these products must be manly. Just as prime-time television ignores or ridicules men's domestic activities like cooking and cleaning. Ads generally portray women as more competent at homemaking task. Women are routinely shown anguishing over dirty floors and bathroom fixtures only to be relieved of their distress when Mr. Clean shows up to tell them how to keep their homes spotless. Even when commercials are aimed at women and are selling products intended for them, most of the time men's voice is used to explain the value of what is being sold. Male's voice reinforces the cultural view that men are authorities and women depend on men to tell them what to do. Central to advertising is sexual objectification of women. The women in the ads have perfect faces, bodies, and hair. By linking incredibly sexy women with products, advertisers hope we will buy the product thinking that it will make us more like the women in the ads. Advertising tells women how to colour their hair, how to lose weight and get rid of wrinkles, so "you'll still be attractive to him"; and how to prepare gourmet meals so "he's always be glad to come home". The ads and articles emphasize that women need to change themselves -- they need to fix, improve, repair, rejuvenate, disguise, and correct some or all parts of themselves. Beneath these ads is the warning that, if a women fails to look good and please the man, he might leave. Advertisements for makeup, cologne, shampoo, and clothes often show women attracting men because they have used the products to make themselves irresistible. Many media portrayals of men and women are unrealistic. Most men are not as strong, bold, and successful as the males on the screen; few women are as slender, gorgeous, and well-dressed as stars and models, whose photographs are often digitally altered to create their artificial beauty. Most people will not reach executive positions by the age of 30, and those who do are unlikely to be as glamorous, stress free,

and joyous as the typical few featured in magazines. Further, no woman who is healthy can avoid tuning 40, the age at which women virtually disappear from media.

## HOW WOMEN AND MEN RELATE TO EACH OTHER?

Occasionally, media offer nontraditional images of relationships between men and women. Most of the time, however, media tell us women and men relate to each other in traditional ways. We'll discuss four traditional images of relations between the sexes that are prominent in media.

**WOMEN'S DEPENDENCE/MEN'S INTERDEPENDENCE:** Media continue to portray women primarily as domestic and dependent and men as powerful and independent. In Disney's award-winning animated film The Little Mermaid, the mermaid quite literally gives up her identity as a mermaid in order to be with a man. Similarly, Disney's The Lion King features female lions that depend on a male lion to save them, and the heroine of Pocahontas is portrayed as a beautiful, sexy maiden rather than as the courageous, strong Native American girl she actually was. Beauty is more emphasized than health in women's magazines. Even magazines such as Working Women and Savvy, which are aimed at professional women, give substantial space to appearance and dress, along with articles on career topics. Magazines aimed at pre-adolescent and adolescent girls brim over with advice on how to lose weight, look better, and be interesting to boys. In the digital world of video games, women are routinely sexualized.

**WOMEN'S INCOMPETENCE/MEN'S AUTHORITY:** A second prevalent theme in media 'is a representation of relationships with men as the competent authorities who save or take care of less-competent women. Children's literature widely implements this. Sleeping Beauty's resurrection depends on Prince Charming's kiss, and Snow White has to rely on a prince of her own. As with other stereotypes, this one is being challenged. The children's film Sinbad tells the story of a young woman who decides not to marry a prince Instead, she follows her heart to sail the seas and becomes a pirate. Newspapers also convey the message that men are authorities and--by their near absence or lack of power--women are not. More than two-thirds of cited sources in newspapers stories are male. Similarly, women are unlikely to be represented as experts on topics. Women are far more often represented as victims than as leaders, role models, success stories, or heroes. Even when newspapers do cover powerful women such as Oprah Winfrey, the stories often focus more on women's appearance and personal lives than on their success and power.

**WOMEN AS PRIMARY CAREGIVERS/MEN AS BREADWINNERS:** A third perennial theme in media is that women are caregivers and men are breadwinners. Even career women such as doctors and lawyers are shown predominantly in their roles as homemakers, mothers, and wives. Women's roles in the home and men's roles outside it are reinforced by newspapers and television news. Both emphasize men's independent activities and in fact define news almost entirely as stories about and by men. Stories about men focus on work and on their achievements. Meanwhile, the fewer stories about women tend to emphasize their roles as wives, mothers and homemakers. When Margaret Thatcher became prime minister of England, newspapers repeatedly referred to her as a "housewife", a label that ignored a long and active role in politics. Virtually every story on Governor Sarah Palin included information about her family.

**WOMEN AS VICTIMS AND AS SEX OBJECTS/MEN AS AGGRESSORS:** A final theme in media's representation of relationships is that women continue to be portrayed as sex objects for men's pleasure. In this representation, the very qualities women are encouraged to develop (beauty, sexiness, passivity and powerlessness) in order to meet cultural ideals of femininity contribute to objectifying and dehumanizing them. Also, the qualities that men are urged to exemplify (aggressiveness, sexuality, and strength) are the same qualities that are linked to abuse of women. Prevalent in media to all types are images of desirable men as aggressive and dominant and of desirable women as young, pretty, sexual, and vulnerable. Research, however, suggests that the unrealistic ideals in popular media do influence how many of us feel about ourselves and our

relationships. For centuries, the people of Fiji were a food-loving society. People enjoyed eating and considered fleshy bodies attractive in both women and men. In fact, when someone seemed to be losing weight, acquaintances would chide her or him for "going thin." All that changed in 1995, when television stations in Fiji began to broadcast American programmes, such as Melrose Place. Within three years, an astonishing number of Fijian women began to diet and developed eating disorders. When asked why they were trying to lose weight, young Fijian women cited characters such as Amanda on Melrose Place as their model.

# Gender and Education

Young people get education to acquire the skills, knowledge, and attitudes they will need as adults. Many traditional societies did not have formalized schools. Instead children learned from their families and neighbours, as men taught boys and women taught girls gender-specific skills. Families still provide informal education in complex modern societies, and some parents choose to home-school their children or cannot afford to send their children to school. Most of the children today, however, attend formal educational institutions, which have important roles in socializing the next-generation.

There are three basic theories about the relationship between education and gender inequality. One theory----**education as gender socialization**----argues that schools and colleges reproduce gender inequality over the generations. Steeped in the gendered expectations of their culture, educational institutions both overtly and subtly teach gendered messages and offer better opportunities to male students, thus preparing them for higher-status and higher-income careers. A second theory----**education as skill development**----argues that education decreases gender inequality by giving girls and women the skills they need to earn independent incomes, and hence power within the families. A third theory----**education as citizen development**----acknowledges the importance of skills but considers mindset even more important. Educated women believe they have some ability to control their lives, so they are more likely to assert themselves within their families and communities.

In America, from the 1630s to 1970s girls were excluded from the highest forms of education. Most of the schools offered gender-segregated classes, with girls learning how to do domestic work while boys learned industrial arts or science. Being literate [able to read and write a simple sentence] and numerate [able to do basic arithmetic] greatly expands anyone's options in life. Until 1820s, men monopolized all occupations that required education. As women gained more education they were able to enter into various occupations, form their own organizations, and pursue their own goals. In 1972 Congress enacted **Title IX**, which prohibited gender discrimination in any educational programme that receives federal assistance. No longer were schools allowed to require only girls to take home economics, or to admit only boys to courses on physics or basketball. Feminists also critically examined textbooks which typically focused on the achievements of boys and men and ignored girls and women. Both Title IX and shifting public opinion created dramatic changes in curricula. Many math textbooks, for example, now use an equal number of male and female names in examples and problem sets. Most of the history books provide information about notable women. Nonetheless, what remains is the 'hidden curriculum': the unintended lessons conveyed in classrooms. For example, most of the teachers tend to give boys and girls different types of feedback on their work. Girls are more likely to be praised for the appearance of their work like neat handwriting. Boys are more likely to be praised for the content of their work.

In many countries, the gender gap in education is still about literacy. Nearly 800 million adults are illiterate, two-thirds of whom are women (UNESCO, 2011), and roughly half of the

world's people live in countries where men are more likely to be literate. Educating girls has been found to be one of the most effective ways to reduce poverty, hunger, and premature death. Most obviously, education increases women's economic productivity. Literacy and numeracy are prerequisites for most formal jobs, and additional skills open up a wider range of occupations, but even women who do subsistence farming are more productive if they have a primary-level education. Nearly half of the reduction in hunger between 1970 and 1995 is attributed to improvements in girls' education. Educating girls also does more than educating boys to increase contraceptive use, reduce family size, and improve the health of the next generation (Population Reference Bureau, 2000). Each year of girls' schooling reduces infant mortality, for example, by 5 to 10 percent.

In recent decades many governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have embraced the goal of making primary education universal for girls as well as boys. Much progress has been made. Gender gaps in primary school enrollment are now small or nonexistent not just in wealthy countries, but also in nearly all of Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East. Primary school enrollments in China are now much more affected by official residence (urban vs. rural) than gender, as 87 percent of both boys and girls attend primary school.

The goal of universal primary education remains, however, elusive. In 2011, 67 million children of primary school age did not attend school - 53 percent of them girls and 43 percent of them in sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO, 2011). Although several African countries have eliminated this gender gap, others still have big disparities. **The largest gender gap is in Angola, where 97 percent of boys but just 74 percent of girls attend primary school. Gender gaps are also significant in Pakistan, Yemen, and Afghanistan. [Gender inequality by Kenschaft].**

Roughly half of primary school age children who are not in school live in areas that have recently suffered war or civil strife (United Nations, 2014). Parents are understandably reluctant to let their children leave home if they face a significant chance of kidnapping or death, and schools in conflict zone sometimes close. In addition, countries that are militarily or politically unstable often have high levels of sexual violence. Parents who fear sexual assault may send their sons but not their daughters to school, as even young girls may not be immune to rape.    Both poverty and belonging to a disadvantaged ethnic group also make it less likely that children will attend school, and more so for girls than boys (World Bank, 2011a; United Nations, 2014). Most countries have eliminated school fees at the primary levels, but parents often have to pay for books, paper, pencils, clothes, and shoes, and they have to forego children's assistance in the household economy. More than a third of the world's people live on less than two dollars a day [i.e., below the poverty line], and they may find such sacrifices insurmountable.

The quality of education is also painfully low in many countries. Books may be inadequate or nonexistent, and many teachers are minimally educated themselves. A study of several low- and middle-income countries found that a fifth of the teachers were absent on any given day [Rogers and Vegas, 2009]. Low-quality schooling leads to high dropout rates, as in Pakistan. This is especially for girls, as they are nearly always needed at home. If parents see that their daughter is not learning, they may conclude that keeping her home would be of greater benefit to the family, especially if her work frees her mother's time for more crop tending, market trading, or paid employment.

GENDER AND SECONDARY EDUCATION: Three patterns are visible. First, two dozen wealthy and middle-income countries, most but not all in Europe, send 90 percent or more of their teenagers to high school with little or no gender gap. Second, boys are more likely to attend high school in much of central Africa and southern Asia, where poverty and gender inequality are high and most countries send less than half of their teens to secondary school. Third, and between these two extremes, are the majority of countries, which send between 50 and 90 percent of their teens to high school, and, by and large, have a female advantage that ranges from tiny [as in America] to 55% female students [WEF 2014]. At least two factors can contribute to girls being more likely to

attend high school. First, in some countries the financial return on a diploma is higher fo[...] Being a teacher after a diploma can liberate a woman from the extremely low wages comm[...] low-skill female-coded job markets. Second, many countries with female majorities[...] "conditional cash transfer" [CCT] programmes, in which a small stipend is given to the moth[...] family if school-age children are sent to school and children are taken for basic medical car[...] largest and earliest CCT programmes are Mexico's Oportunidades [1997] and Brazil's[...] Familia [2003].

**STIPENDS:** Pakistan also provides larger stipends for girls as an incentive for their parents[...] them from household labors. Bangladesh and Cambodia originally covered girls only, as a [...] reduce gender inequality, but once they were successful in raising girls' secondary [...] attendance they expanded to include poor boys as well.

**WAR OR VIOLENCE:** Boys are more likely to attend secondary school in countries that are [...] or have high levels of other forms of violence. Rape is common in high-conflict zones, or gi[...] kidnapped. Families in rural areas often live far from schools, especially secondary sc[...] Parents may be willing to send a son on a long walk every day, but feel that unsafe for a dau[...] Even school can be a risky place. One in fifteen South African women report that they were [...] by a teacher.

**SANITATION:** A lack of sanitary facilities can also be a serious impediment for menstruatin[...] and women in poor countries, where schools often do not have restrooms. A billion p[...] worldwide, more than half of them in India, have no access to toilets and commonly r[...] themselves outdoors, which encourages infectious diseases, malnutrition, and premature dea[...] well as making girls and women vulnerable to sexual assault [Economist 2014]. In Pakista[...] example, more than a third of schools have no drinking water or sanitary facilities (Ashraf, 2[...] Modesty codes require females to find an isolated place to relieve and clean themselves, an[...] challenges can be insurmountable. Many sexual assaults occur in shared restrooms, so girls[...] facilities that combine enough privacy for modesty with enough supervision to deter rapes.

**TRADITIONAL VIEWS:** In some areas, the biggest barrier to girls' high school attendance rer[...] traditional ideas about gender. From Morocco through China, women past the age of puberty [...] traditionally expected to stay in or near home, where their virginity could be monitore[...] protected.

**SOCIAL OPPOSITION:** Girls may also face opposition from people - women as well as men-[...] fear the society-changing effects of educating girls. Sending girls to school changes the gene[...] balance of power within families and communities, and intimately nations. Literacy ma[...] woman less dependent on the men in her family, but most men find that the benefits of [...] primary education--such as higher family incomes and child survival rates--outweigh[...] drawbacks. Secondary school can be different. The more girls are educated, the more they [...] and act for themselves, and the more likely they are to demand a say in how their household is[...] how many children they have, how their children are raised, and in larger decisions that a[...] their community.

## WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

**CHINA:** The case of China shows what can happen to poor country when a government see[...] end gender inequality in education and employment. Nine out of ten Chinese women [...] illiterate in 1949, when Mao Tse-tung assumed power. His government built huge numbers of [...] schools and universities, and encouraged women to work outside the home. Girls and [...] received equal encouragement in math, science, and related fields.

**JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA:** In Japan & South Korea, however, gender discrimination in the workforce is sufficiently intense that it discourages women from pursuing higher education. Nearly all young women in these countries graduate from secondary school, but they later come under strong social pressure to spend their days intensely mothering one or two children. Men, meanwhile, are expected to work long hours for their employers. Statistics suggest that Japan and South Korea have more gender inequality than any other non-Arab wealthy countries. Both countries also rank lower in global gender inequality indices than they did a decade ago, as much of the world has reduced gender gaps more quickly than they have. Their exceptionally low birth rates, combined with two decades of economic stagnation in Japan, have called into doubt the viability of this model. Indeed, Japanese women today are almost as likely as men to be employed. Childcare, however, is extremely difficult to find, and most women work part-time in poorly paid jobs. With so many impediments to women's professional success, Japan and South Korea are the only wealthy countries in which women are less likely than men to deem collage a good investment.

# Chapter 7

# Gender Studies

## Objectives

- Understand the difference between Gender Studies and Women's Studies.
- Grasp the autonomy versus integration debate about Gender Studies.
- Understand the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary nature of Gender Studies.

🏛  For women to assert the need for an independent Women's Studies program raises, for men, the specter of the varieties of female separation from the personal to the political. Without necessarily intending it, the proponents of a separate Women's Studies program or department have raised the issue of female separatism----an issue that pervades any women-centered reality from an all-female meeting to the philosophical position of abortion as a women's right. Gendered subjects by Catherine Portuges and Margo Culley

# Introduction

Women's studies, as an area of academic study, came into being during the second wave of feminism of the 1960s and 1970s and a new dawn of political activism. In Academe, moreover, it was initially a critical response to the lack of knowledge and interest that was shown in half of humanity. Women's studies was founded as women realized that their social, economic and political inequality was perpetuated by the lack of women's ideas, viewpoints, and contributions in higher educational curricula and research of studies on women. Arguing that access to education does not ensure educational equity, feminists extended their concern with the subordination of women in society to their exclusion from academia. Women's studies, as the subject came to be called, started to complement the knowledge base of various disciplines. It was considered necessary to add knowledge about women's lives and conditions in order to ensure that the knowledge base was not biased and that ignorance about the situation of women did not lead to injustice. It was considered necessary to study the situation and fill knowledge gaps. Established concepts and theories were reappraised. Attention was drawn to the discrimination of women researchers and women pioneers in various disciplines. The main subject of women's studies was the past and present position of women in society, i.e. not only the situation of women, but also their social relationships, including relationships between men and women. These studies also raised issues that could not be addressed either by the established disciplines or in the framework of women's studies. Historically and culturally determined conceptions of sex or gender, proved to be important for people's understanding of other people and the organization of social relationships. Two distinct terms were coined in women's studies at an early stage: "sex" and "gender".

The first courses were developed in the late 1960s in the USA, and although some courses were present in adult and higher education in the UK, it wasn't until 1980 that the first MA in women's studies was offered at the University of Kent, followed by other masters and undergraduate degrees elsewhere. Women's studies programmes, courses or modules have also developed across Europe, Australia, Asia and the Middle East, until it has become in Mary Maynard's words, 'something of a global educational phenomenon'. Because second wave feminism focused much more on the way ideas and knowledge itself exclude women's interests and identity, the establishment of women's studies – which in its title alone announces that women are worthy of study in their own right – was a logical step in the development of a feminist epistemology (theory of knowledge). Women's studies has both a 'formal' presence in the academy where it is a recognised discipline and an 'informal' one, where existing subject areas offer courses that specifically deal with women and/or gender difference. Women's studies' formal presence is constantly under threat because its status as a subject is still contested. As Mary Evans notes, 'one of the ironies of the history of women's studies in Britain in the 1980s was the increased toleration for it.' Moreover, much as students still flock to women's studies classrooms, it is also true that many seek the security of the established disciplines when it comes to naming their degrees, suspecting, perhaps rightly that future employers may be more willing to take on graduates with qualifications in disciplines that they recognise and whose value they understand. Adrienne Rich's essay 'Toward a Woman-Centered University' written in 1973 sees women's studies adapting itself to the production of knowledge that might directly help with women's real lives – for example, research projects on health or birth control. Feminist tutors and their published work have a consciousness raising role for students and what they may do with the ideas they learn and debate is incalculable – so that even now it is hoped that not only does women's studies have a legitimate disciplinary position within the academy, but that its location there helps sustain feminist work outside.

# Gender Studies is multidisciplinary

Just like soil fracturing or "fracking" is at the same time an engineering issue, environmental i public health issue, gender studies, too, involves the knowledge of various disciplines understand Gender Studies, the requisite knowledge of other disciplines such as socio psychology, biology, history, international politics is required.

In multidisciplinary research, investigators representing different disciplines often wo parallel, rather than collaboratively. Multidisciplinarity signifies the juxtaposition of var disciplines. It is essentially additive, not integrative. Multidisciplinary research in esse involves two or more disciplines, each making a *separate* contribution to the ove study.

Interdisciplinary research, in contrast, involves integration of different disciplines throu cooperative effort by a team of scholars. Interdisciplinarity integrates information, techniques, perspectives, concepts, and theories from various disciplines to solve a problem w solution is beyond the scope of a single discipline.

While both techniques involve the experience of astute scholars in multiple fields, it is interdisciplinary method that scholars adopt for integrating information that is required gender studies. In contrast, the multidisciplinary approach relies on results that are comp rather than fully integrated, and there is no collaboration across the various areas of specialty.

The purpose of interdisciplinary gender studies is to understand gender from as n different viewpoints as possible. The knowledge obtained from interdisciplinary gender studies also be used to improve understanding of problems in other disciplines. Gender Studies seel understand the position of women in society. The interdisciplinary nature of Women's and Ge Studies fosters an active examination of the varying influences upon women's and men's lives as race, class, ethnicity, gender, sex, sexuality, and age. Since Women's Studies is interdiscipli or multidisciplinary, it is often taught by experts coming in from their own disciplines.

# Difference between Gender Studies and Women's Studies

Gender Studies includes women's studies, men's studies and queer studies. Since the late 198 became more common to find the term 'women's studies' contested and at times replaced in fa of 'gender studies', the rationale being that feminist theories had opened up the wider possibili the analysis of gender difference and its maintenance, so that masculinity and male social i might be of legitimate concern. The first distinction between sex and gender is due to psychologist John Money, who in 1955 distinguished between sexual identity [the physical ide at birth], gender identity [the self-consciousness of one's own gender] and gender role [the p expression of gender identity]. Since the 1990s, the term 'gender studies' rather than 'won studies' has been introduced into academic language. The difference between women's studies gender studies consists in the fact that women's studies were closed to feminism being academic side of the struggle for women's emancipation; gender studies' focus is more gener

political connotation. **The idea behind Gender Studies is that it is not enough to study women as a unique group to come to a true understanding of women's situation, including their past and present condition.** Rather, one needs to take into account men's lives as well; the entire male-female organization of a society, a family, or a workplace contains essential information. One cannot simply investigate women to understand violence, economic inequity, or the place of women in politics; the field of gender relations holds the key to the situation of women. Women do not stand alone. Because men's roles in society have involved so much power, their activities naturally influence the roles of women. Women's Studies deals with women and their problems. Gender Studies focuses on gender relations, gender equality, gender equity, queer theory, race, culture, ethnicity, etc. In Gender Studies, the social relationship between women and men in private and public sphere is studied and analyzed. You cannot study the problems of women in isolation. You can only arrive at the real picture after studying the gender relationship that gives an idea as to why men have mainly masculine and women have mainly feminine characteristics. Are such characteristics genetic or socio-cultural? An in-depth analysis of the gender roles developed as a result of social interaction with the family members, teachers, peers, and society in general helps in sorting out the unequal treatment meted out to women and men in a patriarchal society. Just as WID approach emphasizes on women, and GAD focuses on gender, Women's Studies emphasizes on women while Gender Studies focuses on gender, the social relationship between women and men. Moreover, women belong to different races and ethnic groups. Some groups are more privileged than others; white women may be more privileged than black men. Thus, it is not necessary that all women suffer from the same patterns of oppression. Gender Studies is concerned with studying the society from all such angles so as to reach a conclusion that could help in ameliorating the life of all those who are oppressed. Gender Studies is seen as more inclusive than Women's Studies, taking in men and women as well as those who identify as neither.

One justification for retaining the term 'women's studies' is that it prioritizes women-centred knowledge and starts from women's varied locations in the world. It also pays homage to the roots of the discipline in feminism's history.

In practice, there is little that definitively differentiates between gender studies and women's studies in terms of what is taught. To be sure, every curriculum is different, but all, whether women's studies or gender studies, use feminist research and theory, discuss gender and inevitably discuss men as well as women and transgressions of gender binaries.

# Autonomy versus Integration debate in Gender Studies

There is an important debate and dilemma in and between states about whether or not the institutionalization of women's studies-----as an autonomous department at universities-----better sustains the development of women's studies than the incorporation and integration of women's studies into traditional disciplines as a purely academic *subfield*. In the 1980s, Renate Klein showed that women's studies had a long way to go until it became a separate field of its own, rather than an 'add-on' within the present male-centred compartmentalization of knowledge-making.

Women's studies' understanding of itself as the educational arm of the women's movement signified engagement with the politics of knowledge that explicitly connected teaching and research to social and political change. In short, Women's Studies offered feminist politics an

institutional location. By the end of the 1960s, the teaching of "Women's Studies" had started in some universities of America. The teaching was institutionally anchored in new type of the so-called Women's Studies Centres. This model inspired other countries to start such centres. The centres developed research and teaching profiles focusing on women and gender relations in an interdisciplinary perspective. Parallel with the development of the centres, Feminist studies also unfolded *within* many disciplines. In discipline after discipline, a critical feminist spotlight targeted established research traditions, which had implicitly defined the human being as a man and had relegated women to the position of the other, the deviant sex. Women authors, women's history, women's everyday life, women's work and so on were made into objects of research within the framework of disciplines such as Literary Studies, History, Anthropology, Sociology and so on. In 1970, less than 20 women's studies courses existed in America. In 1970, the first women's studies programme was approved at San Diego State University. In 1998, there were nine PhD programmes in America and Canada. Today, women's studies is taught in more than 700 colleges and universities including those of Pakistan. The National Women's Studies Association [NWSA] was founded in America in 1977 to act as a communications network to enable the exchange of syllabi and research. "Is Women's Studies an Academic Discipline?" was the title of a session at the first annual meeting of the NWSA in 1979. In 1972, Feminist Studies, Women's Studies and Women's Studies Newsletter were published, while in 1975 Signs, an interdisciplinary journal in Women's Studies, was published. Florence Howe and Paul Lauteur helped establish the Feminist Press in 1970.

As women's studies programmes were becoming established, practitioners debated the merits of "autonomy or integration". There can be two approaches: mainstreaming [the integration of women's studies into existing disciplines and the incorporation of feminist perspectives into the traditional curriculum] or autonomous [creating separate women's studies programmes]. It is the most important debate regarding the institutionalization of women's studies. At stake was whether women's studies should be a distinct field or whether it should be located throughout the mainstream. The core disagreement is whether to establish an autonomous enterprise and separate location for women's studies or to strive for integration in various existing disciplines. Should there be a women's studies programme [or department] in order to develop a visible identity and power base or should the work of feminist scholarship be incorporated into existing departments? In other words, two positions have characterized the debate about the location of Women's Studies in the university: integrationist versus separationist postures. There was a debate between the feminist researchers who were active at the women studies centres and those in the disciplines. The discrepancies between the priorities of those who, first and foremost, identified with the centres, and those who primarily identified with the disciplines, created a debate between "integrationists" and "autonomists" [i.e., between researchers who claimed that the most important path to the development of feminist research led through the disciplines, and researchers who, in contrast, gave priority to a development via the centres.] Some faculty argued that the field should have autonomy, which offered the ability to make decisions on hiring, resources, and a position in university politics, and also cultivated distinctly feminist theories and methodologies. On the pro-autonomy side, developing a visible professional identity and power-base in order to secure a teaching programme, staffing, budget and an independent decision-making body are thought to be important in legitimizing feminist scholarship and guaranteeing its future. Reflecting a legacy of suspicion of the academy's patriarchy, proponents of autonomy argued that institutional marginality was necessary in order to preserve the field's connection to the women's movement, contending that integration would result in co-optation by the very institution that had excluded women. Separatists follow the conviction that Women's Studies is an entity in itself; that it should be studied as a unit rather than scattered throughout all the other disciplines; that, as a whole, its content, while interdisciplinary, is greater than, and different from, the sum of its parts; that there is a relationship between the content of the knowledge about women and the concepts and methods employed in acquiring such; that a change in content effects a change in method; and the

women's knowledge defined as Women's Studies can and should change the quality of students' lives.

Nevertheless, anti-autonomy scholars argued that autonomy would lead to academic 'ghettoization' and reduce the impact of women's studies across the institution. The pro-integration scholars contended that it was important to take steps in each discipline or department to confront gender-blindness, transform disciplinary epistemology and methodology, and include feminist perspectives in each canon. These scholars firmly believe that scholarship and professional identity should be mainly in the firmly established disciplines. Women's Studies, therefore, would better be served, according to this view, if it were to develop within and gradually become integrated into the conventional disciplines. Integrationists claim that only when Women's Studies permeates the "mainstream" of the curriculum will the mainstream change and be more woman-centered. Furthermore, proponents of this position claim that separatism equals segregation.

"Did opponents seriously argue that political science, for example, would be segregated out of the mainstream of the curriculum when it was constituted as a separate discipline? Would philosophers, sociologists and economists stop dealing with issues of political science? Whatever one thinks about the fragmented state of disciplinary activity and the over-specialization and fetishizing of knowledge by departmental structures and boundaries, one would have to acknowledge that separateness, in traditional academic departments, has conferred power, not siphoned it away."

Although the common project of these two sides----autonomy and integration----is to transform the gendered nature of knowledge production, one [pro-integration] fears "ghettoization" while the other [pro-autonomy] expresses concern over the assimilation and "dilution" of the field of women's studies. In Gloria Bowles and Renate Klein's 1983 anthology Theories of Women's Studies, the contributors explored whether Women's Studies should exist as a separate field in the university, or whether its aim was to disseminate feminism throughout the existing disciplines.

"For women to assert the need for an independent Women's Studies program raises, for men, the specter of the varieties of female separation from the personal to the political. Without necessarily intending it, the proponents of a separate Women's Studies program or department have raised the issue of female separatism----an issue that pervades any women-centered reality from an all-female meeting to the philosophical position of abortion as a women's right." [Gendered subjects by Catherine Portuges, Margo Culley]

It is highly unlikely that traditional disciplinary content and methodology will change in a more women-centered direction until Women's Studies is autonomous [pro-autonomy view]. Religion departments would not be doing sociology of religion, for example, if there had not emerged a self-defined and autonomous discipline of sociology which determined its own content and methods. What is it about separatism that is positively assessed when undertaken by the now traditional disciplines [as in the separation of sociology from psychology] yet negatively defined as escapist and ineffectual when sought by Women's Studies? That is, the response is positive when the separatism discussion relates to the now traditional disciplines such as sociology, but the response is negative when the separatism discussion relates to Women's Studies. Actually what lies behind the integrationist stance, on the part of men, is the fear that men will no longer have access to women. "Access is one of the faces of Power. The slave who excludes the master from her hut thereby declares herself not a slave." In the context of Women's Studies, what so-called separatists are saying is that traditional male content and methodology [Men's Studies] will have access to the field only in so far as they are relevant to the body of knowledge now developing in Women's Studies. As a consequence of

integration, women-centered values, content and methods are eliminated. The langu
integration disguises the reality of "assimilation".

The advantage of separate Women's Studies departments is that feminist persp
would not be lost or de-prioritized. Despite the fact that women's studies has proliferated f
two decades, its status continues to be marginalized in universities. Women's studies has ex
a "shadow structure," a vulnerable and neglected department with meager funds
compared to the highly visible "surface structure" of the traditional disciplines. At p
most contend that autonomy and integration can co-exist, so that an administratively
programme and department can cultivate specifically feminist scholarship and teachin
simultaneously work to transform various disciplines and departments. Over the years, the
the debate led to a both/and strategy-----both integration into disciplines and a devel
via interdisciplinary centres. After discussing the ways in which women's studies is both li
unlike other "disciplines", Jean Fox O' Barr concluded that it is "both a discipline a
interdisciplinary field."